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AN APOCRYPHAL WORK ASCRIBED TO PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.

IN the year 1893 Mr. Montague Rhodes James published, among other Apocrypha Anecdota, four Latin fragments from a manuscript in the Phillipps' Library at Cheltenham (cod. 391, saec. xi)¹. The titles of the fragments are as follows :—

1. *Oratio Moysi in die obitus sui.*
2. *Visio Zenez patris Gothoniel.*
3. *Threnus Seilae Jephthitidis in monte Stelac.*
4. *Citharismus regis David contra demonium Saulis.*

Mr. James made a laudable effort to ascertain the origin of these fragments. Concerning the first, he put forth the untenable conjecture that it might come from the lost conclusion of the *Assumptio Mosis*. He was right, however, in conjecturing that the three other fragments stand in the closest relations with one another, and spring from one and the same source. He regarded them as mere supplements to the historical books of the Old Testament, of the same nature as the additions made by the Septuagint to Job ii. 9, and to the Book of Esther. Mr. James did not doubt that the fragments which he published, and the names Zenez and Seila, were new and completely unknown. And in all the reviews and writings in which reference is made to the texts published by Mr. James, it is admitted that these Apocryphal fragments were previously unknown². Yet

¹ *Texts and Studies*, vol. II, No. 3, pp. 164–185.

² E. Preuschen, *Theolog. Litteratur-Zeitung*, 1893, col. 546 sq.; Th. Zahn, *Theolog. Litteratur-Blatt*, 1893, col. 491; A. Hilgenfeld, *Berliner Philol. Wochen-*

they had long been printed. Cardinal Pitra had actually edited the third fragment, the *Threnus Seilae*, a few years previously (1884)¹, and had expressly intimated that he did not put it forth as anything new. For the book which contains not only the *Threnus Seilae*, but also all the other texts published by Mr. James, had been printed as early as the sixteenth century, though its existence had been forgotten. And since Cardinal Pitra's remarks have passed unnoticed, it is necessary to revive for a second time the memory of this, in many respects, interesting book.

In the year 1527, there appeared at Basle a book with the following title :—

“Philonis Judaei Alexandrini libri Antiquitatum. Quaestionum et Solutionum in Genesin. De Essaeis. De Nominibus Hebraicis. De Mundo. Basileae per Adamum Petrum Mense Augusto, Anno M.D.XXVII.”

This Latin edition of tracts ascribed to Philo escaped the notice of Thomas Mangey, the learned and meritorious editor of Philo's works; and this fact explains why it is that the writing, concerning which I am about to speak, has attracted scarcely any attention to the present day. The fate of the *Antiquitatum biblicarum liber* was the same as that of the second work, printed in the Basle volume, namely, *CII Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin*. The latter work, a fragment of Philo's great allegorical work, is of special value, because, as is well known, the Greek original is lost. It was, however, unknown to Mangey, and was forgotten until J. B. Aucher, the discoverer and editor of the Armenian translation of the *Quaestiones*, again drew attention to it².

The third work is wrongly entitled *De Essaeis*. It is

schrift, 1894, col. 874 sq.; A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, II, 1565. E. Preuschen and A. Hilgenfeld are opposed to the view that the first fragment belongs to the *Assumptio Mosis*.

¹ *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, II, p. 321.

² Aucher, *Philonis Judaei Paralipomena Armena*, p. 362. Compare also Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, II, p. 298.

really a fragment of a Latin translation of Philo *De vita contemplativa*. That translation has been republished by Pitra¹, and recently by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in his excellent Oxford edition of the tract². It is full time that the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* should again be rescued from its obscurity, and that its contents and literary character should be made clear³.

The title given to the work in the Basle edition is *Philonis Judaei Antiquitatum Biblicarum liber, incerto interprete*⁴. But of what we understand by biblical antiquities, nothing at all is to be found in the book. In fact its contents are a peculiar version of biblical history from Adam to the death of Saul. The narrative follows closely that of the Old Testament, but passes rapidly over many incidents, and omits many sections, while, on the other hand, it elaborates certain portions, and furnishes many quite novel additions to the narrative of the Bible. The author shows a great love for altering and enlarging the speeches given

¹ *Analecta Sacra*, II, 323-331.

² *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, Oxford, 1895, pp. 146-153.

³ In the works in which one would naturally seek information concerning the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* it is nowhere mentioned. So far as I know, the only reference to it by a modern writer is made by E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*; II, 866. Schürer, however, says nothing of the book, and only refers to Fabricius-Harles, *Biblioth. Gr.* IV, 743, and to the passage from Cardinal Pitra which has been quoted above. Fabricius also refers to the book very briefly. All that he says is: "Liber de biblicis antiquitatibus, ab Adamo ad Saulis regis mortem, latine tantum exstat et Philoni suppositus esse videtur."

⁴ I add a few words concerning the MSS. Johannes Sichard, the editor of the Basle edition, observes in his preface that he has used for the *Antiquitates Biblicae*, for the *Quaestiones*, and for the fragment *de Essaeis* two MSS., namely, an old MS. belonging to the famous monastery of Lorsch (coenobium Laurissense), and a MS. belonging to Fulda. The second of the two has disappeared, but the Lorsch MS. appears to be still in existence, and is probably identical with the MS. at Cheltenham (Phillipps MSS. 461r). There are also MSS. of the *Antiquitates Biblicae* in the Vatican Library (Vaticanus Latinus 488, fifteenth century) and in the Vienna Library (Vindob. Lat. 446). The Vatican copy bears the title, "Historia Philonis ab initio mundi usque ad David regem."

in the Bible, and even for composing new speeches. I shall first give a sketch of the contents of the book, and shall quote certain passages in full, in order that the reader may be in a position to gain a clear idea of the author's style and method of narration.

The book begins with an account of the generations from Adam to Noah, following Gen. v. 3-32. There are given not only the names which are mentioned in the Bible, and the number of years that each parent lived before and after the birth of his firstborn, but also the number and the names of the other sons and daughters, whereas the Bible always confines itself to saying in general terms, "and he begat sons and daughters." Thus, for example, at the beginning of the book it is said of Adam:—

Initio mundi Adam genuit tres filios et unam filiam, Cain, Noaba, Abel, et Seth. et vixit Adam, postquam genuit Seth, annos DCC. et genuit filios duodecim et filias octo : et haec sunt nomina virorum, Aeliseel, Suris, Aelamiel, Brabal, Naat, Harama, Zasam, Maathal, et Anath ; et hae filiae eius, Phua, Iectas, Arebica, Siphatecia, Sabaasin.

"In the beginning of the world Adam begat three sons and one daughter, Cain, Noaba, Abel, and Seth. And Adam lived seven hundred years after he begat Seth. And he begat twelve sons and eight daughters: and the names of the sons were Aeliseel, Suris, Aelamiel, Brabal, Naat, Harama, Zasam, Maathal, and Anath, and the names of the daughters were Phua, Iectas, Arebica, Siphatecia, and Sabaasin."

(The names are incomplete.) A large number of the names are evidently incorrect, and indeed the text of the Basle edition is very corrupt; with the help of the MSS., however, it will perhaps be possible to emend it. The figures given for the ages are also in part corrupt. When these figures are compared with those of the Massoretic text and of the Septuagint, they appear to agree with the latter rather than with the former. It appears advisable therefore to alter those figures which agree with neither text so as to bring them in harmony with the Septuagint. The relation between the Massoretic Text (M. T.), the Septuagint, and

our author, whom we shall describe as Pseudo-Philo, will then be as follows :—

	M.T.	LXX.	Ps.-PHILO.
Adam lived before the birth of Seth	130	230	(230)
„ „ after „ „ „ „	800	700	700
Seth „ before „ „ „ Enos	105	205	205 ¹
„ „ after „ „ „ „	807	707	707
Enos „ before „ „ „ Cainan	90	190	190 ²
„ „ after „ „ „ „	815	715	715
Cainan „ before „ „ „ Mahalaleel	70	170	170 ³
„ „ after „ „ „ „	840	740	740 ⁴
Mahalaleel before „ „ „ Jared	65	165	165
„ „ after „ „ „ „	830	730	730
Jared „ before „ „ „ Enoch	162	162	162 ⁵
„ „ after „ „ „ „	800	800	800
Enoch „ before „ „ „ Methusalah	65	165	165
„ „ after „ „ „ „	300	200	200
Methusalah before „ „ „ Lamech	187	187	187
„ „ after „ „ „ „	782	782	782
Lamech „ before „ „ „ Noah	182	188	182 ⁶
„ „ after „ „ „ „	595	565	585 ⁷
Noah „ before the flood.	600	600	600
	1656	2262	2256

From the chronological data contained in the Massoretic text, it would appear that the date of the Flood was A.M. 1656, according to the Septuagint it would be A.M. 2262, while according to Pseudo-Philo, if my emendation of the corrupt figures is correct, it would be A.M. 2256⁸. This date, however, is directly at variance with a later

¹ Basle edition, 105 years.

² Ibid., 180 years.

³ Ibid., 520 years, DXX being a misprint for CLXX.

⁴ Ibid., 730.

⁵ Basle edition, 172.

⁶ Josephus also (*Antiquities*, I, 3, 4) gives 182 years, according to the MSS. S P L. In other respects Josephus agrees with the figures of the Septuagint.

⁷ This figure should be changed to 595 with the Massoretic text, rather than to 565 with the Septuagint.

⁸ This figure can also be deduced from the data supplied by Josephus (MSS. S P L). But the actual date given by Josephus is the year 2656.

statement of the author, who, in speaking of the Flood, says:—

Erat autem tunc annus millesimus sexcentessimus quinquagesimus et secundus, ex quo fecerat deus coelum et terram, in die qua corrupta est terra.

If we change *secundus* to *sextus*, the date agrees with that of the Massoretic text. The variation can be most simply explained on the assumption that the author himself gave the date in agreement with the Massoretic text, whereas subsequently the single figures were altered in accordance with the Septuagint or with an authority that followed the Septuagint. It is well known that in this way errors have arisen in the text of Josephus.

After the genealogy of the children of Seth there follows that of the descendants of Cain according to Gen. iv. 16–24. Our author supplements the biblical account of Cain as follows:—

Cain autem habitavit in terra tremens, secundum quod constituit ei deus, postquam interfecit Abel fratrem suum. Et nomen mulieris eius Themech: et cognovit Cain Themech mulierem suam et concepit et peperit Enoc. Cain autem erat annorum quindecim, quando fecit haec: et ex eo coepit aedificare civitates, quousque conderet civitates septem. Et haec sunt nomina civitatum:—nomen primae civitatis secundum nomen filii sui Enoc, nomen autem secundae civitatis Mauli, et tertiae Leed, et nomen quartae Tehe, et nomen quintae Iesen, nomen autem sextae Celet, et nomen septimae Iebbat. Et vixit Cain, postquam genuit Enoc, annos DCCXV, et genuit tres filios et duas filias. Et haec sunt nomina filiorum eius, Olad, Lizaph, Fosal, et filiarum eius Citha et Maac. Et facti sunt omnes dies Cain anni DCCXXX, et mortuus est.

“Cain lived on the earth in fear, according as God appointed to him when he killed his brother Abel. And the name of his wife was Themech. And Cain knew Themech, his wife; and she conceived, and bore Enoch. Now when this came to pass, Cain was fifteen years old, and from that time he began to build cities until he had built seven cities. And these are their names:—the name of his first city was that of his son Enoch, the name of the second city was Mauli, and of the third Leed, and the name of the fourth was Tehe, and the name of the fifth was Iesen, the name of the sixth was Celet, and the name of the seventh was Iebbat. And Cain lived after he begat

Enoch seven hundred and fifteen years, and he begat three sons and two daughters. And these are the names of his sons, Olad, Lizaph, Fosal, and of his daughters Citha and Maac. And all the days of Cain were seven hundred and thirty years, and he died."

The author supplements the account of Lamech and of his wives and sons only in unessential details. Lamech's address to his wives is reproduced as follows:—

Audite vocem meam, mulieres Lamech, et intendite in observatione mea. Quia viros corrupti pro me et lactentes de mamillis abstraxi, ut filiis meis ostenderem iniqua operari et habitantibus terram, et nunc septies vindicabitur de Cain, de Lamech autem septuagies septies.

"Hear my voice, O wives of Lamech, and give heed to my utterance: because I have destroyed men for my own profit, and have torn away sucklings from the breast, to show the works of iniquity to my sons and to those who dwell on the earth, therefore shall vengeance now be wreaked sevenfold on Cain, and on Lamech seventy times seven."

Then follows a short account of the corruption of men, of Noah's Ark, and of the Flood (after Gen. vi. 1-3, 5-9, 13-15, 18; vii. 2-3, 7, 10-12, 24; viii. 15-22). The speech of God after Noah's offering is considerably amplified. Then follows the enumeration of the descendants of the sons of Noah, after Gen. x. In the genealogy of the sons of Japhet, Pseudo-Philo diverges from the biblical text, and enumerates among the sons of Japhet, in addition to those mentioned in the Bible, the sons of Gomer and Javan, and mentions the names of the sons of Gomer. He also supplies the descendants of all the other sons with names. Then he describes how they divided among themselves the countries that fell to their lot. The names of the countries are, however, for the most part unintelligible. The account of the sons of Japhet ends as follows:—

Et tunc coeperunt operari terram et seminare super eam. Et cum sitiret terra, exclamaverunt habitantes eam ad dominum, et exaudivit eos, et ampliavit pluviam. Et factum est cum descenderet pluvia super terram, apparuit arcus in nube. Et viderunt habitantes terram memoriam testamenti et ceciderunt in faciem suam et immolaverunt offerentes holocaustomata domino.

"Then they began to till the earth and to sow seed thereon. And

when the earth was thirsty, those that dwelt thereon called aloud to God, and he heard them, and the rain was abundant. And it came to pass that when the rain fell to the earth, there appeared a bow in the cloud, and the dwellers on the earth saw the memorial of the covenant and they fell on their faces, and brought burnt offerings and sacrificed them to God."

Similarly the genealogies of the sons of Ham and Shem are given. And the narrative of the Bible is amplified here and there. The author puts into the mouth of Reu ('Payaû of the Septuagint), a prophecy of the birth of Abraham:—

Ragau autem accepit sibi mulierem Melcham, filiam Ruth, et genuit ei Seruch. Et cum factus fuisset dies partus eius, dixit: ex isto nascetur in quarta generatione qui ponat habitationem super excelsa et perfectus vocabitur et immaculatus et pater gentium erit, et non dissolvetur testamentum eius et semen eius in seculum multiplicabitur.

"Ragau took to wife Melcha, the daughter of Ruth, and she bore him Seruch, and when the day of his birth had come, he said, 'From that child shall be born he who in the fourth generation shall set his dwelling over the highest, and shall be called perfect and spotless, and shall be the father of nations, and his covenant shall not be dissolved, and his seed shall be multiplied for ever.'"

Pseudo-Philo gives the number and the names of the sons and daughters of Ragau, Seruch, and Nahor, and also the number of years that they lived, though the figures differ from those given in the Bible (Gen. xi. 20-25). The section closes with the words:—

Tunc coeperunt hi qui habitabant in terra inspicere in astra et inchoaverunt ex his imaginari et divinationes facere et filios et filias suas traicere per ignem. Serui (*read* Seruch) autem et filii eius non ambulaverunt secundum eos.

"Then the inhabitants of the earth began to gaze at the stars and to foretell and divine therefrom, and to make their sons and daughters pass through the fire. But Serui (i. e. Seruch) and his sons did not walk in their ways."

Then follows the account of a great review of their subjects which was held by Nembroth (Nimrod), Iectam, and Phenech (*sic*), the chieftains of the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, in the year 340 after the Flood, while Noah was

still living. Then the races which sprang from the three sons of Noah are again enumerated, and the numbers of fighting men of each race are given. Of the *fili* *Gomer* there were 5,800, of the *fili* *Magog* there were 6,200, and so on. The number of all men capable of bearing arms among the *fili* *Japhet* amounted to 140,202, among the *fili* *Ham* 244,900, among the *fili* *Shem* 347,600. The complete number of all the descendants of Noah who were then in existence is given as 914,000. Noah lived ten years after this review, and died, as the author states in accordance with the Bible, at the age of 950 years, and 350 years after the Flood.

The account of the Tower of Babel is very much elaborated. Men determine, in order to win fame for themselves, to build a tower reaching to Heaven. The author adds here :—

Et dixerunt unusquisque ad proximum suum : accipiamus lapides et scribamus singuli quique nomina nostra in lapidibus et incendamus eos igne et erit quod perustum fuerit in luto et in latere. Et acceperunt singuli quique lapides suos, extra viros duodecim qui noluerunt accipere.

“And each man said to his neighbour, ‘Let us take pieces of clay, and let each man write his name on his piece, and let us burn the pieces with fire ; and then it shall be that each name shall be burnt into the side of a brick.’ And each man took his piece of clay, except twelve men who refused.”

The twelve men who refused to share in the undertaking are mentioned by name :—Abraham, Nahor, Lot, Ruge, Tenute, Zaba, Armodath, Jobab, Esar, Abimahel, Saba, Auphin. They are seized and brought before the princes for judgment. In reply to the question why they will not join in the work, they say :—

Non mittimus vobiscum lapides nec coniungimur voluptati vestrae. Unum dominum novimus et ipsum adoramus. Et si nos mittatis in ignem cum lapidibus vestris, non consentiemus vobis.

“We do not cast in our pieces of clay with yours, nor do we share your desire. One God we know and him we worship, and even if you cast us into the fire with your clay, we shall not join with you.”

In anger the leaders ordered that the recalcitrants should be burned, but on the advice of Jectam, the supreme leader, they are allowed a respite of seven days. Jectam's object is to save the men, "because he was of their tribe and served God" (*quoniam de tribu eorum erat et deo serviebat*). The twelve men are shut up in his palace, and then he orders fifty trustworthy men to bring the twelve to him secretly on the following night, and afterwards to lead them away to the mountains, giving them the necessaries of life, so that they may remain there in concealment. At night he informs the twelve of his intention, and eleven of them thankfully accept his offer. Abraham alone refuses to go with the others, because he trusts to God to help him. At the end of the seven days, when the judgment should be executed, the men are not found in their place of confinement, and Jectam explains that they have escaped and got away, but that he has sent a hundred men to pursue and seize them. Abraham alone is brought forward and cast into a fiery furnace. But God causes an earthquake; the flame bursts with a roar from the furnace, and consumes all the bystanders. Abraham, however, comes unharmed from the furnace, and joins the eleven men who were concealed in the mountains. Nevertheless, the builders of the tower do not give up their design. Then God determines to confuse their speech, and to scatter them over the whole earth. But he decides to separate Abraham from them, and to take him into another land:—

Et ante omnes hos eligam puerum meum Abram et eiiciam eum de territorio eorum et adducam in terram quam respexit oculus meus ab initio, cum peccaverunt ante conspectum meum omnes inhabitantes terram; et adduxi aquam diluvii et non exterminavi eam, sed conservavi illam; non enim dirupti sunt in illa fontes irae meae neque descendit in ea aqua consummationis meae. Ibi enim faciam habitare puerum meum Abram, et disponam testamentum meum cum eo, et semini eius benedicam, et dominabor ei deus in aeternum.

"And before all these, I will choose my son Abraham, and I will send him forth from their territory and I will lead him into a land to which my eyes were turned at the beginning when all the inhabi-

tants of the earth sinned in my sight: and I brought down the waters of the Flood and yet I did not destroy that land, but saved it, for the fountains of my anger were not opened against it, nor did the water of complete destruction descend upon it. For there shall I cause my son Abraham to dwell, and I shall make my covenant with him and I shall bless his seed and I shall rule it as God for ever."

Then came the confusion of tongues and such a change of countenances that one did not understand the other and one no longer recognized the other. Thus they had to desist from the building of the tower, and dispersed over the whole earth.

Our author passes very rapidly over the history of the patriarchs¹. He mentions only the birth of Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, and enumerates the descendants of Esau and the children of Jacob. Of the incidents in the life of Jacob there is mentioned only the rape of Dinah, and that is treated briefly. The author, however, seizes the opportunity to add that Job subsequently married Dinah, and that she bore him before his catastrophe seven sons and three daughters, and after his catastrophe seven more sons and three more daughters whose names are given. The history of Joseph is also recounted very briefly. It ends with the list of the sons of Jacob who accompanied him to Egypt (after Gen. xlv. 8-27). The period of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is given as 210 years.

The history of the events leading up to the Exodus is again very much elaborated. After Pharaoh has ordered that the male children of the Israelites shall be cast into the river, the elders summon the people, and all lament bitterly the cruel decree. Amram alone is hopeful. In a lengthy speech he encourages the people, and reminds them of the covenant of God with Abraham. Miriam, the

¹ A few incidents are casually mentioned later, e.g. the story of Judah and Tamar in a speech of Amram, the story of Jacob's wands (Gen. xxx. 37 sq.) in the account of Aaron's blossoming staff, the story of the covenant of the pieces (Gen. xv. 9 sq.) in a speech of Joshua, the sacrifice of Isaac in the hymn of Deborah.

daughter of Amram, and sister of Aaron, prophesies the birth of Moses. Then follows the account of the birth of Moses, of his exposure, and of his rescue by the daughter of Pharaoh, who gives him the name of *Moyse*s, since his mother had called him *Melchiel*. After the visitation of the ten plagues, the Israelites depart from Egypt, and the Egyptians follow them, and come up with them on the shore of the Red Sea. The Israelites are confounded and believe that they are destined to destruction. Opinions are divided as to the course that should be pursued. The tribes of Reuben, Simeon, Issachar, and Zebulun wish to throw themselves into the sea, saying that it is better to die in the sea than to be smitten by their enemies. The tribes of Gad, Asher, Dan, and Naphtali wish to return with the Egyptians and to continue to serve them, provided that their lives are spared. The tribes of Levi, Judah, Joseph, and Benjamin wish to fight the Egyptians, trusting to the help of God. Moses, however, prays to God, and the Israelites pass through the sea on dry land, while the Egyptians are drowned.

Pseudo-Philo introduces his account of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai by making God speak as follows:—

Dabo lumen mundo et illuminabo inhabitabilia et disponam testamentum meum cum filiis hominum, et glorificabo populum meum super omnes gentes, in quem eiiciam excelsa sempiterna, quae eius erunt in lumine, impiis vero in punitionem.

“I will give light to the world, and I will make light the waste places, and I will set forth my covenant with the sons of men, and I will glorify my people above all nations. On my people I will bestow that which is exalted and everlasting and it shall be to my people for light, but to the wicked for punishment.”

After the description of the preparations there follows a very vivid account of the natural phenomena that accompany the Revelation:—

Et ecce montes ardebant igni et terra tremuit et colles conturbati sunt et montes voluebantur, et abyssi ebulliebant, et omne habitabile movebatur, et coeli plicabantur, et nubes hauriebant aquam, et flammae ignis exardescabant et tonitrua et fulgura frequentabant,

et venti et procellae strepebant, astra congregabantur, et angeli praecurrabant, quousque deus poneret legem testamenti sempiterni filiis Israel et daret praecepta aeterna quae non transient.

“And lo the mountains burned with fire, and the earth trembled, and the hills were shaken, and the mountains swayed, and the abysses seethed, and all the habitable earth was moved, and the heavens were bent, and the clouds cast forth water, and flames of fire burnt exceedingly, and there was much thunder and lightning, and winds and tempests roared, the stars gathered together, and angels leaped forth until God set before the children of Israel the Law of his Everlasting Covenant, and gave them the eternal commands which shall not pass away.”

Then follow the Ten Commandments, with unimportant variations and additions. Moses ascends the mountain, remains there forty days and forty nights, and receives from God all the ordinances concerning the Tabernacle, the ark, the altar for sacrifices and incense, the candlestick, the ewer, and the other vessels, the garments of the high priest, &c. The story of the golden calf is amplified with a specially large number of speeches. First Aaron attempts to reassure the people concerning the long absence of Moses, and, failing in this, he demands their golden ornaments and makes the calf (*vitulus conflatus*) out of them. God orders Moses to descend in haste to the people. Moses descends and sees the golden calf, and then, looking at the Tables of the Law, observes that there is no longer anything written on them, and he breaks them:—

Et apertae sunt manus eius, et factus est similis mulieri parturienti in primitivis suis; quae cum tenetur in doloribus, et manus eius super pectus illius et virtus non erit quae adiuvet partum eius.

“And his hands were opened, and he became as a woman who is in labour with her first child; and, when her pains seize her, she presses her hands against her breast, and there is nothing that can hasten on the delivery.”

Moses destroys the calf, again ascends the mountain, and prays to God to relent from his anger. God bids Moses hew two new tables of stone, and write thereon the commandments which were on the first tables. And Moses did

all that God commanded. The tabernacle was now ready, and from it God proclaimed certain ordinances, namely those concerning the sin offering, concerning the treatment of lepers, and concerning the five great festivals. Then follows a remarkable addition :—

Tunc praecepit ei de anno vitae Noë, et dixit ad eum : Hi sunt anni quos disposui post hebdomadas, in quibus visitavi civitatem hominum, in quo tempore ostendi eis locum generationis et colorem. Et dixit : hic locus est quem docui protoplastum dicens : si non transgredieris quae tibi mandavi, omnia sub te erunt. Ille autem transgressus est vias meas, et suasus est de muliere sua, et haec seducta est de colubro, et tunc constituta est mors in generationes hominum. Et adiecit dominus adhuc ostendere vias paradisi, et dixit ei : Haec sunt quae perdiderunt homines, non ambulantes in eis, quoniam peccaverunt in me. Et praecepit ei dominus de salvatione animarum populi, et dixit : Si in viis meis ambulaverint, non relinquam eos, sed miserebor eis semper, et benedicam semen eorum et festinabit terra dare fructum suum, et pluvia erit eis in lucrifactionem, et non sterilizabit. Sciens autem scio, quoniam corrumpent vias suas, et relinquam eos, et obliviscentur testamenta quae disposui patribus eorum, et ego tamen non in sempiterno obliviscar eos ; ipsi enim scient in novissimis diebus, quoniam pro peccatis eorum derelictum est semen eorum, quia fidelis sum in viis meis.

“Then he taught him concerning the year of the life of Noah, and said to him, ‘These are the years which I decreed after the weeks in which I visited the city of men, and at that time I showed them the place and nature of generation.’ And he said, ‘This is the place concerning which I instructed the first man, saying, “If thou dost not transgress what I commanded thee, all this shall be under thy sway” ; but he went from my ways and was persuaded by his wife, and she was led away by the serpent, and then death was made for the generations of men.’ Moreover God showed him the ways of Paradise, and said unto him, ‘These are the ways which men lost, because they did not walk in them, inasmuch as they sinned against me.’ And God taught him concerning the salvation of the souls of the people, and said, ‘If they walk in my ways, I will not leave them, but I will show mercy to them always, and I will bless their seed, and the earth shall hasten to give its fruit, and the rain shall enrich them, and shall not allow the earth to be barren. But I well know that their ways will be corrupt, and I will leave them, and they will forget the covenants which I made with their fathers,

and yet I shall not forget them for ever. For they themselves shall know in the last days, that it is on account of their sins that their seed has passed away, for I am faithful in my ways.' ”

The priestly code, and the whole book of Leviticus, are entirely unnoticed. From the Fourth Book of the Pentateuch, Pseudo-Philo gives no more than a brief account of the numbering of the people and of the tribe of Levi, of the mission of the twelve spies, of the rebellion of Korah and his companions, and of the accession of Aaron to the high-priesthood after the incident of the blossoming staff. In the story of Korah, it is especially mentioned that his seven sons refused to take part in the rebellion (cf. Num. xxvi. 11). The history of Balaam is narrated in full, and is adorned with long dialogues between God and Balaam. When Balaam at last arrives before Balak, he makes a long speech, the contents of which differ entirely from those of the speeches given in the Bible. He ends by advising Balak to corrupt the youths of the Israelites, and Balak follows the advice.

From the story of Balaam the author turns immediately to that of the death of Moses, in the course of which he reproduces the addresses given by Moses to the people, and the dialogues between God and Moses. Moses ascends Mount Horeb (probably a copyist's mistake for Nebo), and prays to God :—

Ecce, ego quidem complevi tempus vitae meae, et complevi annos cxx. Et nunc, peto, misericordia tua cum populo tuo et miseratio tua cum hereditate tua solidetur, domine, et longanimitas tua in loco tuo super electionis genus, quoniam tu prae omnibus dilexisti eos. Et tu scis, quoniam ego eram pastor ovium, et cum pascere gregem in eremo, adduxi eos usque in montem tuum Oreb, et tunc primum vidi angelum tuum ignitum de rubo, tu autem vocasti me de rubo, et ego timui et declinavi faciem meam; et misisti me ad eos, et liberasti eos de Aegypto, inimicos autem eorum demersisti in aquam, et dedisti eis legem et iustitias in quibus vivant. Qui est autem homo qui tibi non peccavit? Aut quis adhuc nascetur sine peccato? Emendabis autem eos in tempore et non in ira.

‘ Lo, the days of my life are completed, and I have lived 120 years.

And now, I pray, O Lord, establish thy mercy towards thy people, and thy compassion towards thy inheritance, and thy long-suffering in thy own place towards the people of thy choice, seeing that thou hast loved them before all others. And thou knowest that I was a shepherd, and when I passed with my flock in the desert, I took them to thy mountain of Horeb, and then for the first time I saw thy angel in a burning bush, and thou didst call to me from the bush, and I was afraid and turned away my face. And thou didst send me to them, and didst deliver them from Egypt, while thou didst cast their enemies into the waters, and didst give to thy people the laws and judgments in which they shall live. But who is the man who has not sinned against thee, or who shall be born without sin? but thou shalt correct them in time and not in anger."

Then God shows Moses the Promised Land,

Et ostendit ei locum unde elevant nubes aquam ad irrigandum omnem terram, et locum unde accipit fluvius irrigationem, et terram Aegypti, et locum firmamenti unde bibet sola terra sancta; et ostendit ei locum unde pluit manna populo, usque ad semitas paradisi; et ostendit ei mensuras sanctuarii, et numerum oblationum, et signa in quibus incipiant inspicere coelum.

"And shows him the place whence the clouds raise up water to moisten the land, and the place whence the river receives its water, and the land of Egypt, and the place of the firmament, from which only the Holy Land shall drink, and he shows him the place whence came the shower of manna to the people, even unto the paths of Paradise. And he shows him the measurements of the sanctuary, and the number of the offerings, and the signs according to which they shall begin to search the Heavens."

Then God speaks of the rod of Moses which is to serve as a sign of the covenant with the people of Israel, just as the rainbow was the sign of the covenant with Noah and his sons. God promises Moses that he himself will inter him, and that the angels shall mourn over him; but neither angel nor man shall ever know the place of his grave. After this speech of God, follows the fragment which has been published by Mr. James. Moses asks God how much time has passed since the beginning, and how much remains. He receives the mystic answer:—

Istic mel apex magnus momenti plenitudo et ciati gutum et omnia complevit tempus: quattuor enim semis transierunt, et duae semis supersunt.

Then Moses dies, and is buried by God, and the angels lament his death.

After the death of Moses, his spirit passes over to Joshua and the whole people recognizes him as the leader chosen by God. Joshua decides to send two spies to Jericho. In the Bible their names are not mentioned. According to Pseudo-Philo Joshua appoints to this task the two sons of Caleb, *Cenez* (Kenaz) and *Seeniamian*, and says to them:—

Ego et pater vester missi sumus per Moysen in eremo, et ascendimus cum ceteris decem viris; et revertentes illi male locuti de terra et dissolverunt cor populi et dissipati sunt ipsi et cor populi cum eis. Ego autem et pater vester soli complevimus verbum domini, et ecce vivimus hodie. Et nunc mittam vos inspicere terram Iericho. Imitamini patrem vestrum et vivetis et vos.

“I and your father were sent by Moses in the desert, and we went up with ten other men: and on our return the ten spake evil concerning the land and melted the heart of the people, and now they have perished and the heart of the people with them. But I and your father alone carried out the word of God, and, lo, we are alive this day. And now I will send you to see the land of Jericho. Follow the ways of your father, and you also shall live.”

Jericho is then conquered and burnt. At this point it is mentioned that after the death of Moses the manna ceased and the Israelites began to eat of the produce of the land (compare Joshua v. 12).

The author deals very briefly with the other battles that took place during the conquest of the Holy Land. He merely mentions that thirty-nine kings in all were conquered (compare Joshua xii. 24 שלשים וְאַחַר, Septuagint, *εἴκοσι ἐννέα*). The division of the land among the twelve tribes is also dealt with briefly, and the only incident specially mentioned is that Caleb induced Joshua to grant to his son Cenez “a portion of land with three towers,” *territorium trium turrium* (compare Joshua xiv. 6 sq.). The other events mentioned in the Book of Joshua are recounted by our author in a somewhat different order from that of the Bible, and the narrative is amplified by several, occasionally very long, speeches. When Joshua was old,

God commanded him to admonish the people before his death as Moses had once done. Then Joshua went to *Galgala* (Gilgal) and erected an altar of unhewn stones on Mount *Gebal* and gathered the whole people together, and read to them the Law of Moses. And the priests and Levites brought the Ark of the Covenant. And the people sacrificed and sang songs of praise, and Joshua blessed the people (compare Joshua viii. 30 sq.). Then the author narrates what is said in the Book of Joshua, chap. xxii, of the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh. The narrative, however, varies somewhat from that of the Bible. After the tribes in question have justified their action, Joshua demonstrates to them that they have no need of such an altar, and bids them demolish it. As a sin-offering Joshua sacrifices a thousand rams, and the altar is destroyed. At this point the removal of the Tabernacle and the Ark to Shiloh is mentioned (compare Joshua xviii. 1). When Joshua felt his end approaching, he summoned the whole people to Shiloh (on the 16th day of the third month) and in a long speech, which closely follows Joshua, ch. xxiii and xxiv, admonished them to be ever mindful of that which God had done for them, and not to depart from the law which Moses had given them. And the whole people answered :—

Dominus est deus noster et ipsi soli serviemus.

“The Lord is our God, and we will serve him alone.”

And Joshua gave his blessing to the people and to Phinehas, the son of the High Priest Eleazar, and died.

The period of the Judges is treated very thoroughly. Much, however, that appears in the Biblical account is either omitted or very briefly dealt with, while the additions and amplifications fill a great space. In the Bible, there is mentioned as the first Judge, Othniel, son of Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb (Judges iii. 9). The Book of Judges gives no information concerning him beyond the facts that he won a victory over an Aramaic king, and

that Israel enjoyed forty years of peace under his rule. In our book there appears in his place *Cenez* (that is Kenaz) who is mentioned as son of Caleb, and of him Pseudo-Philo narrates remarkable things. After the death of Joshua, the *Allophili*, that is the Philistines, threaten to go to war against the Israelites. At God's command the leader of the Israelites in the war is chosen by lot. The lot falls on Cenez and he is appointed leader. He makes a speech in which he reminds the people of the admonitions of Moses and Joshua, and gives orders for the casting of lots among the different tribes to ascertain who it is that has departed from the ways of God. The lot designates six thousand one hundred and ten men in all as transgressors. At God's command Cenez asks the men of each tribe in order what sin they have committed. The men of the tribe of Judah say "We wished to make a calf and to worship it as our fathers did in the desert." The men of the tribe of Reuben answer "We wished to sacrifice to the gods of the inhabitants of the land." And so on. The author dwells longer on the answer given by the sinners of the tribe of Asher. They say that they found seven golden idols, adorned with the most precious stones, belonging to the Amorites, and called by them the Holy Nymphs; that they took the idols away with them and hid them under a hill. The author adds the following explanatory note:—

Hae sunt nymphae quae invocatae ostendebant Amorreis per singulas horas opera eorum. Hae sunt enim quae (*qu.* quas?) adinvenērunt septem viri peccatores post diluvium, quorum nomina haec sunt, Chanaan, Phuht, Selath, Nebroth, Elath, Desuat Nec erit iam talis similitudo in seculo sculpta manu artificis, vel picturae distincta varietate. Erant autem confixa et confirmata in consecrationem idolorum. Lapides illi preciosi erant, allati de terra Euilat: in quibus crystallinus erat, et prasinus, et velut indiatrum (?) sculpti modum ostendebant. Et alius ex his sculptus erat desuper, alius velut chrysopastus stigmatus ita relucebat sculptura, tanquam subiacentis profundi ostentaret liquorem. Et hi sunt lapides preciosi quos habebant Amorrei in sanctis suis, quorum

pretium ideo inaestimabile erat, quoniam per noctem ingredientibus his non erat necessarium lumen lucernae, ita exsplendebat genuinum lapidum lumen. Inter quos tamen plus lucebat ille qui in modum diatridis (?) sculptus de setis emundabatur. Nam et si quis de Amorreis caecus erat, ibat et ponebat oculos suos super eum, et recuperabat lumen.

“These are the nymphs which, when invoked, showed the Amorites their tasks from hour to hour. For they are the nymphs which were found by the seven sinners after the Flood, whose names were Chanaan, Phuht, Selath, Nebroth, Elath, Desuat, [one name is lost]. Nor will there be found at the present day any such image, carved or painted. But these were devoted to the worship of false gods. The stones were precious, and were brought from the land of Evilat. Among them were crystalline and prasinus, and they seemed to be engraved after the fashion of And one was engraved above, and another, like pierced chrysopastus, shone with its engraving as though it showed the waters of the sea beneath. And these were the precious stones which the Amorites kept in their holy places. And their value was beyond all reckoning, since, when one walked by night, a lamp was not needed, so brilliant was the natural light of the stones. But that which shone most was one which was cut in the fashion of For even if one of the Amorites was blind, he went and set his eyes upon it and recovered his sight.”

After Cenez had questioned all the transgressors, and the idols had been produced, he caused the men and the idols and the other instruments of idolatry which were found to be burnt. The seven precious stones, however, were spared, and at God's command, Cenez brought them on to a mountain, and set them down there near a new altar. Then Cenez offered up a sacrifice on the altar, and the whole people celebrated a great sacrificial feast. In the night there came an angel and took the seven precious stones, and cast them into the depths of the sea, and another angel put in their place twelve other stones of great price, and engraved on them the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. Each of the stones was of a special form, the first (Reuben) was like a sardius, the second (Simeon) like a topaz, the third (Levi) like an emerald, the fourth (Judah) like a carbuncle, the fifth (Issachar) like a sapphire,

the sixth (Zebulun) like jasper, the seventh (Dan) like a figure, the eighth (Naphtali) like an amethyst, the ninth (Gad) like an agate, the tenth (Asher) like a chrysolite, the eleventh (Joseph) like a beryl, the twelfth (Benjamin) like an onyx. The twelve stones were meant by God to adorn the ephod of the High Priest, like the twelve precious stones which adorned the breast-plate that was prepared by Moses in the wilderness (Exodus xxviii. 15 sq.). Cenez is ordered by God to place the twelve precious stones in the Tabernacle by the Tables of the Law which Moses received on Horeb.

Et his dictis accepit lapides de loco ubi erant positi, et cum tolleret eos, velut lumen solis diffusum super illos, splendebat terra de lumine eorum. Et posuit eos Cenez in arca testamenti domini cum tabulis, sicut praeceptum fuerat ei, et sunt usque in hodiernum diem.

“And when God had said this, Cenez took the stones from the place where they were, and, as he moved them, a light was diffused over them like the light of the sun, and the earth shone therewith. And Cenez put the stones in the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, together with the Tables of Stone, even as he had been commanded, and they are there to this day.”

Then Cenez arms three thousand men, and marches against the Amorites, and there killed on the first day 800,000, and on the second day 500,000. On the third day certain envious men speak against Cenez, saying that he himself does nothing; thereupon Cenez goes alone to meet the enemy, and, with the help of two angels, works terrible slaughter amongst them. One of the angels strikes the Amorites with blindness so that they take one another for enemies, and they slay one another (comp. Judges vii. 22). The other angel, *Zeruel*, “Lord of Valour” (“qui praeerat virtuti”), supports the arms of Cenez. Forty-five thousand of the enemy fall by his hand, the same number is killed by their own countrymen. Then Cenez returns to his people, and rouses them from the sleep into which God had caused them to fall, and, in astonishment, they see the field covered with dead bodies. Cenez is greeted as a hero, and the whole people acknowledges—

Nunc scimus quoniam constituerit dominus facere salutem populo suo : non indiget multitudine, sed sanctificatione.

"Now we know that God has determined to work salvation for his people ; he does not need numbers, but holiness."

Cenez ruled over Israel for fifty-seven years. When his end was approaching, he summoned the whole people together, and he and the High Priest, Phinehas, admonished them to walk in the ways of God. When Phinehas had finished his speech, Cenez and the Elders and the whole people lifted up their voices and wept. Then the spirit of God came upon Cenez and he began to prophesy. Here follows the vision of which Mr. James has published the text. After Cenez had prophesied, he died, and the people mourned for him thirty days.

After Cenez Zebul¹ was appointed to be Judge. The account of him also is quite new. He provides for the daughters of Cenez, Ethema, Pheila, and Zelpha by giving them possessions and marrying them. He builds a treasure-house for the Lord, and demands of the whole people, men and women, contributions of gold and silver to fill it. Twenty talents of gold and 250 talents of silver are brought together. Zebul ruled over the people for twenty-five years. After his death the Israelites remained for a certain period without a judge, and worshipped strange gods till God raised up Deborah. The history of Deborah, Barak, Sisera and Jael is adorned with legends and speeches. At God's command the stars fight on behalf of Israel, inasmuch as they fall upon the enemy and burn them. Barak sends the head of Sisera to his mother, with the message :—

Accipe filium tuum quem sperabas venire cum spoliis.

"Receive thy son whom thou didst hope to welcome returning with the spoils."

The hymn of Deborah is quite different from that which is given in the Bible. It consists chiefly of reminiscences of the history of the Israelites from Abraham to Joshua. Deborah ruled Israel for forty years. Before her death

¹ The name is taken from Judges ix. 28 sq.

she called the people together, and admonished them to follow the law of God. After her death the people mourned for her seventy days, and the land had rest for seven years more. At the end of this time, a Midianite priest, named *Aod*, by using magical arts so as to make the sun visible at night, induced the people to worship idols. The Israelites consequently fell into the hands of the Midianites, and God then sent an angel to command Gideon to become the leader of Israel. With 300 followers Gideon defeated the Midianites and slew 120,000 men (compare Judges vi. 11 sq.). The scene with the angel is described with legendary additions. When Gideon asks for a sign, the angel tells him to pour water on to a stone, and to say into what substance he wishes that it should turn. Gideon wishes that half the water should turn to blood and the other half to fire. And it was as he wished. The blood and the fire mingled, but the blood did not extinguish the flame, nor did the flame consume the blood. Then Gideon asked for other signs :—

Et haec videns, Gideon petiit alia signa, et data sunt ei ; nonne haec scripta sunt in libro Iudicum ?

“And seeing this, Gideon asked for other signs, and they were given to him : are not these things written in the Book of Judges ?”

After the victory over the Midianites, Gideon asks for and obtains their golden bracelets “*dextralia quae habetis in manibus vestris*” which weighed twelve talents. And with them he made an idol which he worshipped (compare Judges viii. 23 sq.). Then follows the account of Abimelech, and the parable of Jotham (Judges ix. 5 sq.). Concerning the judge Jair, of whom very little is said in the Bible (Judges x. 3-5), Pseudo-Philo narrates that he erected an altar to Baal, and induced the people to sacrifice to him, and threatened to slay all who would not do so. Seven men, whose names are mentioned, refuse to obey the command, and are sentenced to be burnt to death. But when the fire had been kindled, and the men had been placed on the pyre, the angel *Nathaniel*, “Lord of Fire” (“*qui praeest*

igni"), came and extinguished the flames, and the men escaped unperceived, since the angel had stricken all the bystanders with blindness. Next the angel informs Jair that he himself must be burnt in the same fire which he had intended for the destruction of the servants of God. The angel rekindles the fire, and Jair, and the idol of Baal, and the bystanders, to the number of a thousand, are consumed.

Pseudo-Philo tells also the story of Jephtha (Judges xi) with several additions of his own. When Jephtha made his vow, God was angry and said:—

Ecce oravit Iephtha, ut offerret mihi omne quod primum obviaverit ei; et nunc si canis primus obviaverit Iephthae, numquid canis offerretur mihi? Et nunc fiat oratio Iephthae in primogenitum eius, id est in fructum ventris ipsius, et petitio ipsius in unigenitam eius. Ego autem liberans liberabo populum meum in isto tempore, non pro eo, sed pro oratione quam oravit Israel.

"Lo Jephtha has vowed to offer unto me the first thing that shall meet him. Now, if a dog shall be the first to meet Jephtha, shall a dog be sacrificed to me? Now shall the vow of Jephtha be visited on his firstborn, on his own offspring, yea, his prayer shall be visited on his only daughter. But I of a surety will deliver my people, not for Jephtha's sake, but for the sake of the prayer of Israel."

Jephtha's daughter, whose name is not given in the Bible or elsewhere, is here called *Seila* (qu. שַׁיִלָּה, "She who was demanded"?). When Jephtha saw that his daughter was the first who came to meet him, he was overwhelmed with grief, and said:—

Iuste vocatum est nomen tuum Seila, ut offeraris in sacrificium. Et nunc quis dabit cor meum in statera, animam in pondere, et stabo et videbo, utrum epulatio quae facta est an tristitia quae contigit mihi? Et quia in cantico votorum aperui os meum domino meo, non possum revocare illud.

"Rightly was the name of Seila given to thee, that thou shouldst be offered up as a sacrifice, and who shall set my heart in the balance and my soul as the weight, that I may stand and see whether that which happened to me is joy or sorrow? But because I opened my mouth to the Lord, and uttered a vow, I cannot take it back."

Seila, accompanied by her friends, goes up on Mount Stelac

and laments her fate in a dirge¹. Then she returns to her father, and is sacrificed, and her companions and the whole people mourn for her. Jephtha judges Israel for ten years (compare Judges xii. 7, where the period is given as six years). His successor, *Addo* (i. e. Abdon, Judges xii. 13-15), marches against Moab with 20,000 men and slays 45,000 of the enemy. Then follows Elon, who in the Bible precedes Abdon (Judges xii. 11 and 12); and under his rule Israel conquers twelve cities of the Philistines. Elon judges Israel for twenty years (the period given in the Bible is ten years). After the death of Elon, the Israelites forget God and serve strange gods and are therefore subjected to the Philistines for forty years (compare Judges xiii. 1).

The history of Samson is told with comparative brevity, and, for the most part, in accordance with the Bible. There are, however, a few additions. The ancestry of Samson's father, *Manuc*, is traced back to Dan; the name of Samson's mother is given as Eluma, daughter of Remac ("Eluma filia Remac"). The angel who appears to Samson's parents is called *Phadahel*. An account is given of the achievement which is mentioned in Judges xvi. 1-3; the other achievements are referred to only in the following words:—

De leone autem quem interfecit, et de maxilla asini in qua occidit Allophilos, et de vinculis velut sponte diruptis (de) brachiis eius, et [de] vulpibus quas apprehendit, nonne haec scripta sunt in libro Iudicum?

"As for the lion which he slew, and the jawbone of an ass with which he slew the Philistines, and the bonds which his arms burst asunder without an effort, and the foxes which he caught, are not these things written in the Book of Judges?"

Then follows the story of Samson and Delilah and of the death of Samson (Judges xvi. 4 sq.). The number of the Philistines who were killed on the occasion of Samson's death is given as 40,000 men and women.

The account of the history of Micah (Judges xvii. 1-6)

¹ This is the *Threnus* of which the text has been published by Cardinal Pitra and Mr. James, see p. 278 above.

contains several additions, and a long speech made by God. The outrage in Gibeon (Judges xix. 14 sq.) is, as regards essential points, described in accordance with the Bible. The scene, however, is transferred to a place called *Noba*. After the Israelites have twice been defeated by the men of Benjamin, the High Priest Phinehas offers up prayer, and God answers him in a parable. Then all the inhabitants of the City of Noba, to the number of 85,000, are slain, and there survive only 600 persons of the whole tribe of Benjamin. The account of the period of the Judges ends with the following words:—

Et quiescentibus interim filiis Israel, dux non erat eis in diebus illis, et unusquisque faciebat quod placitum erat ante oculos eius. Haec sunt mandata et iustitiae et testimonia et manifestationes factae in diebus iudicium Israel, antequam regnaret in eis rex.

“Meanwhile the children of Israel were at rest, there was no leader over them in those days, and each man did what was right in his own eyes (Judges xxi. 25). These are the commandments and the judgments and the covenants and the testimonies in the days of the Judges of Israel before there was a king in Israel.”

The history of Samuel begins in the same way as the history of the Judges. The Israelites again begin to demand a leader, and men say to one another “Let us cast lots, that we may see who there is that can be a leader like Cenez. Peradventure we may find a man, who will relieve our misery.” The lot falls on Elkanah. He, however, refuses to accept the office, and then the people turn to God, and God answers: “Not Elkanah shall be your leader and prophet, but his son; not one of the ten sons of Peninah, but the son whom the barren Hannah shall bear to him.” Then follows the narrative of 1 Sam. i and ii. The calling of Samuel (1 Sam. iii) is described as follows: When Samuel was eight years old, God desired to reveal to him his will, since at that age the boy was already such as Moses had been when, at the age of eighty years, he received the Revelation from the Burning Bush. Twice Samuel hears the voice and runs to Eli. Each time he is questioned. The first time he says that he had heard, as he believed,

the voice of Eli. The second time that he has heard the voice of his father Elkanah. Then Eli understands that it is the voice of God, and says to Samuel :—

Aure tua dextra intende, sinistra tace. Phinees enim sacerdos praecepit nobis dicens : “auris dextra audit dominum per noctem, sinistra autem angelum.” Et ideo si in dextra audieris, dicito : “dic quid vis, quoniam audio, tu enim me plasmasti.” Si autem in sinistra audieris, veni et annuntia mihi.

“If the voice speaks in thy right ear, hearken, if it speaks in thy left ear, be silent. For Phinehas, the priest, instructed us, saying : ‘The right ear hears the voice of God at night, the left ear hears the voice of an angel.’ Therefore, if thou hearest with thy right ear, say ‘Tell what thou wishest, I hearken, for thou hast created me.’ But, if thou hearest with thy left ear, come and tell me.”

The rest of the story follows closely the Biblical account. There are, however, the following additions to the battle with the Philistines (1 Sam. iv), viz. : *Golia* is mentioned as the Philistine who slays the sons of Eli, and *Saul* is the messenger who brings to Eli the news of their death. The disease with which the Philistines are visited, while the Ark remains among them (1 Sam. v. 6), attacks with special violence pregnant women, children at the breast, and their mothers.

The election of Saul as king is told very briefly, and in the account reference is made to the Bible :—

Et ecce Saul venit et obviaverunt ei omnia signa quae dixerat ei Samuel, nonne haec scripta sunt in libro Regum ?

“Lo, Saul came, and there met him all the signs which Samuel had foretold. (Compare 1 Samuel x. 9.) Are not these things written in the Book of Kings ?”

Then follow the address of Samuel to the people (1 Sam. xii. 1-5), and the account of Saul’s battle against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv). Saul keeps alive Agag, the king of the Amalekites, because he has promised to reveal the place where treasure is concealed. Samuel kills Agag, and, at God’s command, anoints David as king. Then David sings the following psalm :—

In finibus terrae incipiam glorificari, et in dies saeculi dicam hymnum. Abel imprimis quando pascebat pecora, acceptabilius fuit sacrificium eius quam fratris illius, et zelans eum frater eius occidit eum. Me autem non sic, quia custodivit me deus et quoniam angelis suis tradidit me et custodibus suis ut custodiant me, quoniam fratres mei zelaverunt me, et pater meus et mater mea neglexerunt me et, cum veniret propheta, non clamaverunt ad me, et quando nominatus est Christus domini, obliti sunt mei. Deus autem dextera sua et misericordia sua approximavit mihi: propterea non cessabo hymnizare omnes dies vitae meae.

"In the ends of the earth I will begin to exult, and I will sing praises for ever. In the days of old, when Abel fed his flocks, his sacrifice was more acceptable than the sacrifice of his brother, and his brother was envious and slew him. Not so with me, for the Lord has watched over me, and has bidden his messengers and watchmen have charge of me, for my brothers were envious of me, and my father and my mother regarded me as nought. And when the prophet came, they did not call to me, nay, when he spoke of the anointed of the Lord, they forgot me. But God drew near to me with mercy in his right hand. Therefore I will not cease to give praise all the days of my life."

While David was still speaking, there came a lion from the wood, and a bear from the hill, and seized cattle. Then David took stones, and killed the lion and the bear. (Compare 1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35.) And God said to him:—

Ecce in lapidibus tradidi in conspectu tuo feras istas. Erit autem tibi in signum hoc, quoniam lapidibus interficies post inimicum populi mei.

"Lo, before thy eyes, I have given into thy hands these beasts to be killed by thy stones, and this shall be a sign to thee that in after days thou shalt slay with stones the enemy of my people."

At this time the Spirit of God departed from Saul, and an evil spirit gained mastery over him. Then David was brought, and he played at night on the harp to drive away the evil spirit. There is given the harp-song (*citharismus*), which is published by Mr. James. David returned home to tend his father's sheep. Then Midianites come and attempt to carry off his sheep, but David goes out against them, and slays 15,000 men. That was David's first battle. The account of the meeting with Goliath is adorned with

legendary incidents. David takes seven stones, and writes on them the names of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron, his own name, and the name of God; and God sends to his assistance the angel *Seruihel*, "the Lord of Valour" ("praepositum super virtutem"¹). When David stands before Goliath, he speaks to him as follows:—

Audi verbum, antequam moriaris. Nonne sorores erant duae mulieres, unde natus es tu et ego? Et erat mater tua Orpha et mater mea Ruth. Et elegit sibi Orpha duos (*read* deos) Allophilorum et abiit post eos, Ruth autem elegit sibi vias fortissimi et ambulavit in eis. Et nunc nati sunt de Orpha tu et fratres tui. Et quia exsurgens hodie venisti devastare Israel natus de cognatione tua, ecce veni et ego vindicare populum meum. Nam et tres fratres tui post mortem tuam incident in manus meas. Et tunc dicitis matri vestrae: "Non pepercit nobis qui natus est de sorore tua."

"Hear my words before thou diest. Were not thy mother and my mother two sisters? Thy mother was Orpha and my mother was Ruth. And Orpha chose the gods of the Philistines and went after them, but Ruth chose the way of the Most-High and walked therein. And Orpha was the mother of thee and of thy brothers. And because thou hast risen up this day and hast come to destroy the Israelites, thy kinsmen, lo, I, too, have come to defend my people, for thy three brothers also shall fall into my hands after thy death. (Compare 2 Samuel xxi. 22.) Say to your mother, 'Thy sister's son has not spared us.'"

After the death of Goliath the angel changed the face of David, so that no one knew him, and Saul asked him who he was (compare 1 Sam. xvii. 58). Then Saul became jealous of David, and sought his death, and David fled to *Armathen* (that is, Ramath; compare 1 Sam. xix. 18). Once more the Spirit of God came over Saul, and he prophesied:—

Quid seduceris, Saul, aut quem persequeris invanum? Completum est tempus regni tui. Perge in locum tuum, tu enim morieris, et David regnabit. Nonne tu et filius tuus simul moriemini et tunc apparebit David regnum?

"How art thou led astray, O Saul, and whom dost thou pursue in

¹ This is the same angel who assists Cenez (see p. 297 above). When first mentioned he is called *Zeruel*.

vain? The days of thy kingdom are full. Go to thy own place, for thou shalt die, and David shall be king. Shalt not thou die on the same day with thy son, and the kingdom of David shall begin?"

After a long dialogue between David and Jonathan, and a short account of the history of Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii. 9 sq.), the author passes over several incidents with the words:—

Omnia quae fecit Saul et reliqua verborum eius et quomodo persecutus est David, nonne scripta sunt in libro Regum Israel?

"As for the other deeds and words of Saul, and how he pursued David, are not these things written in the Book of the Kings of Israel?"

Then follows the account of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, who is called *Sedecla*, and of the death of Saul (1 Sam. xxviii. 3 sq. and xxxi). One addition is made to the biblical version of Saul's death. When Saul has thrown himself on his sword, he cannot die. Then, looking backwards, he sees a man hastening towards him. He calls to him, and begs him to draw his sword and give him his death-stroke. The man approaches, and Saul asks him who he is. He replies: "I am Edab, the son of Agag, king of the Amalekites" (compare 2 Sam. i. 6 sq.). Then Saul says:—

Ecce nunc venerunt super me verba Samuelis, quomodo dixit: 'qui natus fuerit de Agag, erit tibi in scandalum.' Vade autem et dic David: 'Ego occidi inimicum tuum,' et dic ei: 'Haec dicit Saul, "Non memor sis odii mei neque iniustitiae meae."'

"Lo, the words of Samuel concerning me have come to pass. For he said, 'The son of Agag shall be thy stumbling-block.' Go and tell David, 'I have killed thy enemy,' and say to him, 'These are the words of Saul: Do not remember that I hated thee and was unjust to thee.'"

With these words the book ends.

From the above account it is quite clear that the work with which we are dealing is far from being such as Philo of Alexandria would have written. There is no need to demonstrate at length that Philo cannot have been its author, for the style and the literary character

are absolutely different from that of the philosopher of Alexandria. The traditional ascription of the book to Philo is explained by the fact that, from early times, copies of it were made and circulated together with translations of genuine works of Philo¹. As we have seen, the book is a version of the historical books of the Old Testament until the death of Saul, with many legendary and original additions. Thus, it is one of the many works which are commonly described as "apocryphal." It is clear at first sight that the existing Latin text is not the original, but is a translation from the Greek; and this fact has been rightly pointed out by Cardinal Pitra and Mr. James. Cardinal Pitra illustrates this point by drawing attention to several Greek words which have been simply transliterated by the author of the existing version, viz. *metra* (μήτρα), *holocaustomata*, *aromata*, *epomis* (ἐπωμίς, the ephod of the High Priest), *ὠμοτοκείαν passae sunt*. The book contains several other instances, e.g. *abyssus* (ἡ ἄβυσσος), *Allophili* (Ἀλλόφυλοι, Philistines), *semen amigdali*, *virga amigdalina*, *anathema*, *blasphemare* (βλασφημεῖν), *cataractae* (καταράκται), *eremus* (ἡ ἔρημος, the wilderness), *hymnizare* (ὑμνεῖν, ὕμνους ᾄδειν), *idolum* (εἶδωλον), *lampades*, *moechari* (μοιχεύειν), *ortigometra* (ὀρτυγομήτρα), *parabola* (παραβολή), *presbyteri*, *protoplastus* (πρωτόπλαστος, i.e. Adam), *romphaea* (ῥομφαία), *scandalum*, *synagoga*, *theca* (θήκη, scabbard), *thronus*, *tybis* (θίβις), *zelus* (ζήλος), *zelare* (ζηλοῦν). Further evidence on this point is furnished by the fact that most of the biblical names mentioned in the book are written according to their Greek form: e.g. Abel, Enoc (Ἐνώχ), Matusala, Noe, Ragau, Seruch, Nembroth or Nebroth (Νεβρώδ, LXX), Moyses (Μωσῆς), Balaam, Phinees, Iesus filius Naue (Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυή), Jesse (Ἰεσσαί, the father of David), and so on. Moreover, the translation of several biblical passages corresponds exactly with that given by the Septuagint. For example:—"Placuit autem Enoc Deo

¹ Similarly, the so-called "Fourth Book of the Maccabees" is in many MSS. ascribed to Josephus.

in tempore illo, et non inveniebatur, quoniam transtulit illum Deus" (Gen. v. 24) = LXX καὶ εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκειτο, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός¹. "Hic requiem dabit nobis et terrae ab his qui sunt in ea, in quibus visitabitur, propter iniquitatem operum malorum" (Gen. v. 29) = LXX οὗτος διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων κ.τ.λ.² The agreement between the text of Pseudo-Philo and that of the Septuagint suggests an explanation of the fact which has been mentioned above, viz.:—that in the genealogy of the descendants of Seth the number of years given for each generation is the same in Pseudo-Philo as in the Septuagint. It may well be assumed that the figures in the text of Pseudo-Philo have been altered so as to bring them into accordance with those of the Septuagint.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the Septuagint is the only version of the Bible that Pseudo-Philo has used. Such a supposition is rendered untenable by the fact that in many places Pseudo-Philo is at variance with the Septuagint and in closer agreement with the Hebrew text. Gen. iv. 16: "Cain autem habitavit in terra tremens" (בְּאֶרֶץ נוֹד)³, LXX ᾤκησεν ἐν γῇ Ναΐδ. Gen. vi. 2: "Et viderunt filii dei filias hominum, quoniam pulcherrimae erant." Here the most ancient MSS. of the Septuagint preserve a reading which has been adopted through dislike of anthropomorphism, viz.:—ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ

¹ Vulgate: "ambulavitque (וַיִּהְיוּ) cum Deo, et non apparuit, quia tulit eum Deus." Cyprian quotes exactly the same version as Pseudo-Philo (*Testim.*, III, 58; *De Mortal.*, 23).

² The translators before Jerome understood the name Noah in the same way, "requiescere nos faciet"; cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.*, p. 11 (ed. Lagarde). On the other hand, the Vulgate gives "iste consolabitur (יִרְחֹם) nos ab operibus." Cf. *Bereshith Rabbah* on this verse: according to Rabbi Jochanan, the name and the explanation do not agree, and the verse should read either "He called him Noah, saying, 'He shall give us rest,'" or "He called him Nachman, saying, 'He shall comfort us.'"

³ Symmachus and Theodotion give a translation similar to that of Pseudo-Philo. Symmachus uses the word ἀνάστροφος, and Theodotion uses σαλευόμενος. Vulgate *profugus*. Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.*, p. 9.

ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι καλαί εἰσιν¹. Gen. vi. 3: "Non diiudicabit (ידי) spiritus meus in omnibus (read *hominibus*) istis in saecula eo quod carnales sunt²," LXX οὐ μὴ καταμείνῃ³ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας. Gen. vi. 7: "quoniam paenitet (נחמתי) in eo quod feci eum⁴," LXX ὅτι ἐθυμώθην ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτούς⁵. Gen. vi. 9: "Noe qui erat homo iustus et immaculatus (ימים) in progenie sua," LXX Νῶε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος, τέλειος ὢν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ: *immaculatus* is the translation of ἁμωμος. Gen. vi. 14: "et nunc facito tibi arcam de lignis cedrinis (ערצי נפר)," LXX ποιήσουν οὖν σεαυτῷ κιβωτὸν ἐκ ξύλων τετραγώνων. Gen. viii. 19: "et omnes bestias et reptilia et volatilia et pecora duxit secum," LXX καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν καὶ πᾶν ἔρπετον κινούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξήλθοσαν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ⁶. In Gen. viii. 21 the words הניח ריח את יי יי are strangely translated by Pseudo-Philo, "et acceptus est domino tanquam odor requietionis," while the Septuagint rightly gives καὶ ὡσφράνθη κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁσμῇν

¹ Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and other early Fathers used a text of the Septuagint which gave the reading ἄγγελοι. Many MSS., and Lucian, read υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.

² The same words are subsequently quoted in a speech in a like form: "non erit mediator spiritus meus in hominibus his in sempiternum eo quod sunt caro." Symmachus also translated the passage correctly: οὐ κρινεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

³ Philo found the same reading in the Septuagint (*De Gigant.*, I, 265 M): οὐ καταμενεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. The passage was similarly translated by the author of the Book of Jubilees; cf. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 202. So the Vulgate: "Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine in aeternum quia caro est." Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.*, p. 11.

⁴ Similarly Akylas, ὅτι μετεμελήθην: and Vulgate, "paenitet enim me fecisse eos."

⁵ The oldest MSS. of the Septuagint have ἐθυμώθην, and this was the reading known to Philo and to the authors of the old Latin translations, as quoted by Ambrose and Augustine. Some MSS. of the Septuagint, and Lucian, read ἐνεθυμήθην.

⁶ The Samaritan version and the Book of Jubilees agree with the Septuagint. Cf. also Vulgate: "sed et omnia animantia, iumenta et reptilia quae reptant super terram . . ."

εὐωδίας. The next words in the same verse are translated by Pseudo-Philo, "non adiciam iam maledicere terrae pro homine (בעבור האדם)": the Septuagint gives οὐ προσθήσω ἔτι τοῦ καταράσασθαι τὴν γῆν διὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων¹. The next words, כי יצר לב האדם רע מן נערי, are translated by Pseudo-Philo, "quoniam figura cordis hominis desiit (qu. *desipit*?) a iuventute sua." It is clear that the Greek text of Pseudo-Philo contained a literal translation, τὸ πλάσμα τῆς καρδίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. The Septuagint has ὅτι ἔγκειται ἡ διάνοια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ ποιηρὰ ἐκ νεότητος². Gen. xvii. 15: "Et Sarai uxor tua dicetur Sara (שרה . . . שרי)," LXX Σάρα ἡ γυνή σου . . . Σάρρα ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς. Exod. ii. 3: "Et fecit ei tybin de cortice arboris pini (תבת נמ) et posuit tybin in os fluminis (על כפת היאר)," LXX ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ θίβιν³ . . . καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἔλος παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Exod. xxxii. 7: "Festina hinc quoniam corruptus est (שחח) populus," LXX βάδιζε τὸ τάχος ἐντεῦθεν, κατὰβηθί· ἠνόμησεν γὰρ ὁ λαός σου⁴. Num. xvii. 23: "Et fecit semen amigdali (שרקים)," LXX καὶ ἐβλάστησεν κάρνα⁵. Deut. xxxiv. 5: "Et mortuus est (Moyses) in gloria secundum os domini (יהוה פי יעל)," LXX καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν Μωυσῆς . . . διὰ ῥήματος κυρίου.

There are to be found, however, differences of greater importance. In the Septuagint there appears in the genealogy of the descendants of Shem between Arphaxad and Salah (Gen. x. 24, xi. 12) a second Cainan whose name is not given in the Masoretic text. Pseudo-Philo knows

¹ Cf. Augustin., *Quaest. in Heptat.*, I, 15: "Non adiciam adhuc maledicere super terram propter opera hominum." Vulgate, "propter homines."

² Cf. Augustin., l. c.: "quia adposita est mens hominis ad maligna a iuventute."

³ Akylas and Symmachus translated תבת נמ by κιβωτὸν παπύρου. Cf. Augustin., *Locut. in Hept.*, II, 5: "quid sit 'tubin' ideo difficile est nosse, quia nec Graecus interpres ex Hebraeo nec Latinus ex Graeco vertit hoc nomen, sed sic transtulit ut invenit." Vulgate, "fiscellam scirpeam."

⁴ Similarly Vulgate, "peccavit populus tuus."

⁵ Other translations had ἀμύγδαλα instead of κάρνα (cf. Field, *Hexapla*), and so the Vulgate gives "in amigdalas deformati sunt."

nothing of this Cainan, and in his last Salah following immediately after Arphaxad. In 1 Sam. i. 14 *Eli* says to Hannah: "How long wilt thou be drunken? Put away thy wine from thee." Also in Pseudo-Philo *Eli* says to Hannah: "Vade et aufer vinum tuum arae." In the Septuagint, however, these words are put into the mouth of a serving-lad of Eli: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ τὸ παιδάριον Ἡλεί· ἕως πότε μεθύσθῃς; περιελοῦ τὸν οἶνόν σου καὶ πορεύου ἐκ προσώπου κυρίου¹. In the transliteration of many biblical names, especially of the less-known ones, Pseudo-Philo agrees rather with the Hebrew text of the Bible than with the Septuagint. Thus, he writes Malalech, a corruption of *Malaleel* (cf. Gen. v. 12), *Matusael* (cf. Gen. iv. 18), *Elon* (cf. Judges xii. 12); whereas the Septuagint gives Μαλελέηλ, Μαθουσαλά, Αἰλώμ. According to Pseudo-Philo the name of the father of Samson is *Manuc* (i. e. Manuch), whereas the Septuagint gives Μανῶε.

Thus the work that we are considering contains evidence of the use of a Greek version of the Bible, not wholly uninfluenced by the Septuagint, but more faithful than is the Septuagint to the Hebrew text. But the connexion of the book with the Hebrew text of the Bible is indicated by other passages besides those directly derived from the Bible. The whole book contains so many traces of Hebrew that we cannot regard Greek as the language in which it was first written. The Greek version stands half-way between the original text and the Latin version which has come down to us. The book must originally have been written in Hebrew. The style, the expressions, and the method of statement bear an entirely Hebrew character². The Greek expressions and all traces

¹ This was the reading that Philo found in the Septuagint (*De Ebrietate*, I, 379 M).

² This fact was recognized by Sixtus Senensis, who writes in his *Bibliotheca Sancta* (edition of 1626, *Colon. Agripp.*), p. 365 a: "(Philonis) Liber, qui biblicarum antiquitatum prænотatur, in quo per modum brevis hystoriae vetus omne Testamentum perstringitur, sed phrasis eius ubique Hebraismum redolens et narratio rebus apocryphis passim abun-

of the influence of the Septuagint, and of other Greek versions, are to be ascribed to the person who translated the book from Hebrew into Greek. The author himself used as his model and sole authority the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and imitated its style and method of narration even in the smallest details. Had the author written in Greek, he could not possibly have reproduced so faithfully the style and accent of the Bible. Among all those apocryphal books which were written in Greek, there is none in which the biblical style is so faithfully reproduced as in Pseudo-Philo. A careful study, even of the few passages quoted in the early part of this essay, is enough to show how well founded is my conjecture that the book was originally written in Hebrew. I shall, however, bring forward some arguments which place the Hebrew origin of the book beyond doubt. The names invented by the author, though they are corrupt in our present text, have a thoroughly Hebrew sound. The single sentences are, as in the Hebrew Bible, almost universally connected by "and" (*et*); paragraphs are unknown, there is no break in the narrative from beginning to end. That is the Hebrew method of narration. No one could have written like that in Greek, even if he had taken the Septuagint as his model, and that the Septuagint was not the model followed by Pseudo-Philo has been shown above. Moreover, there are certain expressions and turns of phrase which can only be explained on the supposition that the author wrote in Hebrew. The peculiar Hebrew expression לְאִמְרָא is not only found in sentences which verbally follow the Bible, but is also frequently used by the author himself:—"Et illi responderunt dicentes," "Et dixerunt ad ducem suum dicentes," "Deus locutus est ad Abraham dicens," "(Mariam) vidit somnium et enarravit parentibus suis mane dicens," "Presbyteri altercabantur cum Amram dicentes," "Et responderunt Aegyptii regi suo dicentes."

dans indicant opus aut huius non esse Philonis, aut, si forte eius sit, non Graeco sed Hebraico sermone ab ipso fuisse conscriptum."

Other peculiarities that point to the Hebrew origin of the work are the doubling of the verb (as in *הִרְעָה הִרְעָה*): *frangentes fregerunt noctu, dormiens dormiebam*; the use of *adiicere* and *appondere*, followed by an infinitive, in the sense of the Hebrew *הוסיף*, "Non adiciam iam corrumpere aqua diluvii terram," "Adiecit deus praecipere mari," "Et apposuerunt prosequi eos"; the extraordinary frequent use of *ecce* (i. e. *הנה*) at the beginning of speeches, "Ecce ego fugio hodie in montana," "Et ideo ecce ego dividam linguas eorum"; the use of *Et factum est* (*ויהי*) at the beginning of sentences. Finally, the following expressions bear unmistakable signs of Hebrew origin:—"Omnes transeuntes secundum sceptrata ducationis suae" (cf. Leviticus xxvii. 32), "Invenerunt gratiam servi tui ante oculos tuos," "Sanguis tuus super caput tuum sit, si nolueris proficisci cum istis," "Et ascenderunt cum eo de montanis gaudentes in nomine domini," "Placuit verbum ante conspectum dei," "Et dicam servis meis patribus eorum," "Et seducti sunt post filias Amorreorum" (cf. Exod. xxxiv. 16), "Et erit nomen tuum et huius in generationem et generationem," "Ecce ego proficiscor mori, viam totius carnis, quo venietis et vos," "Nunc ergo vade et cinge lumbos tuos," "Et non corrumpas vineam quam plantavisti dextera tua," "Et haec dicentes ceciderunt in conspectu arcae testamenti domini et ruperunt vestimenta sua et imposuerunt cinerem super capita sua." The Hebrew construction is exactly reproduced in such sentences as the following:—"Populi autem inhabitantes terram, cum initiassent aedificare turrim, divisit Deus linguas eorum et mutavit eorum effigies"; "Et propterea omnis mulier, quae pepererit septimo mense, vivit filius eius."

We may now take it as proved that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and, if this be the case, it follows that the author was a Jew. The contents of the book make this assumption certain. Christian elements are entirely absent. There is not even the faintest allusion to Christianity, or any Christian addition to the narrative. It appears, therefore, that the work met with the same

fate as many other apocryphal writings. It was early translated into Greek, and was in this form accepted by the Christian Church together with the canonical writings and other apocryphal additions to the Old Testament. The Greek version was then translated into Latin, and, by chance, the work has come down to us in the last version only. The Hebrew original and the Greek translation have alike perished. Similarly, there have survived, as is well known, only an ancient Latin version and an Ethiopic version of the Book of the Jubilees, both derived from a Greek version; the Hebrew original, however, and the Greek translation have both perished. In one respect the Book of Jubilees has met with a better fate than the work of Pseudo-Philo. For, in the works of the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Chroniclers, there have been preserved fragments of the Greek translation, which prove that the *Λεπτὴ Γένεσις*, the name by which the Book of the Jubilees is commonly quoted, was extant until late in the Middle Ages¹. Of the work of Pseudo-Philo, however, strange to say, no trace remains apart from the Latin version. Even in the mediaeval lists of apocryphal books² in which several works, now quite lost, are mentioned, there is not a single reference to the work of Pseudo-Philo.

In what remains of Jewish literature there is likewise no clear allusion to the work. But many of the older works of Hagadic literature have disappeared and left no trace, while of others there exist only fragments, preserved as quotations in the Talmud and in later Midrashic literature. The work of Pseudo-Philo must be regarded as a piece of Hagadic writing; it belongs to the oldest specimens of historic Hagada; it is to a certain extent a Hagadic commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament³.

¹ Cp. Rönisch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 251 sq.

² Cp. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, II, 670 sq.; Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, I, 851 sq.

³ There is a certain similarity between the work of Pseudo-Philo and the *Sefer Hajashar*. The latter book is a continuous account of the events

A comparison with the Hagadic illustrations preserved in the Talmud and in the Midrash will make this clear. For, although the work of Pseudo-Philo is nowhere expressly mentioned, it has nevertheless many points of contact with the Hagadic compositions of Jewish literature, and with other Jewish apocryphal writings. Pseudo-Philo does not stand alone in his love for the amplification of biblical genealogies. This tendency of the Jewish writers of the post-exilic period is seen as early as in the Book of Chronicles. The author of the Book of Jubilees also resembles Pseudo-Philo in this respect. He mentions the names of the wives of all the patriarchs from Adam to the twelve sons of Jacob. He knows the number of the sons of Adam, and so on. In other respects, however, the whole plan and purpose of the Book of Jubilees differ from those of the work of Pseudo-Philo. The Midrashim, on the other hand, contain many passages which resemble and agree with passages of Pseudo-Philo. Hence it may be concluded that there were ancient legends, which were used by Pseudo-Philo, and also served as the foundation of stories in the Midrash. It is well known that traces of such legends of the Old Testament are also to be found in Philo and in Josephus. I shall now quote some examples of Hagadic illustrations and legends appearing in Pseudo-Philo, which are also to be found in the same or in a similar form in the Midrashim. The number of examples might, however, be increased without difficulty.

The confusion of tongues at the building of the Tower of Babel is illustrated by Pseudo-Philo with the remark that, when one man told another to bring stones he brought water, and when water was asked for straw was brought. A similar illustration is given in the Midrash¹.

mentioned in the Bible from the time of Adam to that of the Judges, embellished with legendary additions. It is, however, of very late date. Cp. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 154 sq.

¹ *Bereshith Rabbah*, parasha 38, on Gen. xi. 7.

"When a man said to his companion 'bring me an axe,' his companion would bring him a spade. Then the man would strike his companion, and break his head."

There was a wide-spread and well-known legend that at Nimrod's command Abraham was about to be burnt to death. But God wrought a miracle to save him from the furnace¹. This story is told by Pseudo-Philo, but the occasion that gave rise to the incident, and its connexion with the Tower of Babel, are peculiar to Pseudo-Philo and are not found in any other version².

In the great address to the people, recorded by Pseudo-Philo, Joshua recounts the history of the covenant which God made with Abraham between the pieces (Gen. xv). Symbolical explanations are given of the mention of each animal. God says to Abraham:—

Et assimilabo te columbae, quia accepisti mihi civitatem, quam incipient aedificare filii tui in conspectu meo. Turturem autem assimilabo Prophetis, qui de te nascentur. Et arietem assimilabo sapientibus, qui de te nascentur, illuminantibus filios tuos, vitulum vero assimilabo multitudini populorum (*qu.* populi?) qui multiplicatus est per te. Capram assimilabo mulieribus, quarum aperiam metras, et parient.

"I will make thee like the dove, because thou hast received from me a dwelling-place, which thy sons shall begin to build in my sight. I will make the prophets who shall spring from thy seed like the turtle-dove, and the wise men who shall spring from thy seed, and who shall give light to thy children, I will make like the ram. And the multitude of the people, which is multiplied by thee, I will make like the calf, and I will make the women like the she-goat. I will open their wombs, and they shall bear offspring."

In the Midrash the significance of the animals is explained differently. According to most authorities, the four animals typify the Four Great Kingdoms. The calf of three years old refers to Babylon. The she-goat of three years old to Media (Persia), the ram to Greece, the dove to Rome. According to Rabbi Jehuda, the animals typified the princes

¹ B. Beer, *Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, 14 sq.

² The Midrash mentions that Abraham disapproved of the building of the Tower. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

of the various nations ; according to R. Nehemiah, they typified the princes of Israel¹.

The story that Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, was afterwards married to Job, is mentioned in the Talmud and in the Midrash as well as by Pseudo-Philo².

According to Pseudo-Philo, when Pharaoh ordered that all new-born children of the Israelites should be thrown into the river, the Elders of Israel wished the people to resolve to deny themselves intercourse with their wives. Amram, however, endeavours to dissuade the people. He takes a wife from his own tribe, and when he has taken her, the others follow his example, and take back their own wives.

Et accepit uxorem de tribu sua, et factum [est] cum acceperat eam, imitati sunt eum ceteri et acceperunt uxores suas.

A similar story is told in the Midrash³ :—

When Pharaoh made that cruel decree, Amram sent away Jochebed and divorced her ; and all the Israelites followed his example and divorced their wives, but Miriam reprimanded her father, and Amram then took back his wife, and the other Israelites did likewise.”

According to Pseudo-Philo, when the Egyptians heard of Pharaoh’s decree, they said :—

Masculos eorum interficiamus et feminas eorum servemus, ut eas nostris demus servis in uxores, et erit qui natus fuerit ex eis servus et serviet nobis.

“Let us kill their male children, and let us keep alive their female children so that we may give them as wives to our slaves, and their offspring shall be our slaves and serve us.”

The Midrash⁴ relates that the Egyptians themselves wished to marry the daughters of the Israelites.

“The astrologers said, ‘We will destroy the boys and marry the girls.’ For the Egyptians were very prone to licentiousness.”

¹ *Bereshith Rabbah*, para. 44, on Gen. xv. 9. and elsewhere. Cf. Beer, op. cit., pp. 21, 121.

² *Baba Bathra*, fol. 15 b ; Targum to Job ii. 9 ; *Bereshith Rabbah*, para. 57 on Gen. xxii. 21. Dinah is mentioned as Job’s second wife in the apocryphal *Testamentum Iobi*.

³ *Sota*, fol. 12 a ; *Shemoth Rabbah*, para. 1, on Exod. i. 15 ; *Sefer Hajashar*, p. 130 b.

⁴ *Shemoth Rabbah*, para. 1, on Exod. i. 22.

According to Pseudo-Philo's account, the birth of Moses was foretold by his sister Miriam. The Midrash also mentions this fact¹ :—

"Why did Miriam stand far off? Rab Amram (according to others Rab Nachman) said, in the name of Rab, 'Because Miriam had prophesied that her mother would bear a son who would deliver the Israelites.'"

Pseudo-Philo says of the infant Moses :—

Ipse autem puer natus est in testamento dei et in testamento carnis eius.

"The child was born in the covenant of God and in the covenant of his flesh."

The Midrash gives the same tradition² :—

"The Angel Samael says to Moses, 'Wherein does thy strength consist?' Moses replies, 'I am the son of Amram. I came into the world circumcised from my mother's womb. I needed not circumcision.'"

Immediately after, Pseudo-Philo says of the daughter of Pharaoh :—

Et ut vidit puerum, et dum vidisset in zaticon, hoc est in testamentum carnis, dixit: de filiis Hebraeorum est.

The word *zaticon* is unintelligible and presumably corrupt. But the explanation "*hoc est in testamentum carnis*," makes its meaning clear. The words are a Hagadic explanation of the words of the Bible, "This is one of the Hebrews' children" (Exod. ii. 6). The same explanation is given by the Midrash³.

"How did she know this? R. Jose bar Chanina said, 'Because she saw that he was circumcised.'"

According to the Bible, Moses received his name from the daughter of Pharaoh (Exodus ii. 10). Pseudo-Philo adds that his mother had called him *Melchiel*. According to a well-known passage in the Midrash⁴ Moses had several

¹ *Sota*, fol. 12 b; *Mechilta* on Exod. xv. 20; *Shemoth Rabbah* on Exod. ii. 4; *Sefer Hajashar*, p. 130 a.

² *Debarim Rabbah*, para. 11, on Deut. xxxi. 14.

³ *Sota*, fol. 12 b; *Shemoth Rabbah*, para. 1, on Exod. ii. 6.

⁴ *Megilla*, fol. 13 a; *Wajikra Rabbah*, para. 1, ad init.; *Sefer Hajashar*, p. 131 a.

names. The name Melchiel (Malkiel), however, is not included among them, and the name which Moses received from his mother is said to have been Jekuthiel. Strange to say, a trace of the name Melchiel has been preserved in the Byzantine chronographer Syncellus¹.

When the Israelites stood by the Red Sea, and saw the Egyptians coming in pursuit, they were, according to Pseudo-Philø, divided in their opinions as to what should be done. One party thought it best that they should throw themselves into the sea: to this party belonged the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, Issachar and Zebulun. Another party, consisting of the tribes of Gad, Asher, Dan, and Naphtali wished to return to Egypt. Only the tribes of Levi, Judah, Joseph, and Benjamin wished to fight the Egyptians. A similar story is told in the Midrash²; but four conflicting opinions are mentioned. The tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Issachar wish to throw themselves into the sea; Zebulun, Naphtali, and Benjamin wish to return with the Egyptians; Judah, Joseph, and Dan wish to fight the Egyptians; Levi, Gad, and Asher wish to throw themselves on the Egyptians and to bring confusion on their ranks. It will be seen that there is no essential difference between the third and fourth opinions mentioned in the Midrash.

When Moses descended from Mount Horeb and saw the Golden Calf, he looked at the Tables of Stone, which were in his hand, and saw that nothing was written on them. "Et vidit quoniam non erant scriptae et festinans confregit eas." The word *non* is at first sight surprising, especially as Moses is told shortly afterwards to write on the new tables the commandments which were on the first. The text, however, is correct, and the incident is illustrated

¹ Georg. Syncell., *Chronogr.*, p. 226, 18 (ed. Bonn): (ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραώ)... Μανσέα τε μετονομάζει... τὸν Μελχίαν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων πρὶν κληθέντα. The name Malkiel appears in the Bible as that of a son of Asher (Gen. xlv. 17; Num. xxvi. 45).

² *Sefer Hajashar*, p. 146 sq.; cf. *Mechilta* on Exod. xiv. 9 sq.

later on in a passage of a speech which refers to the giving of the Law—"et peccantibus illis evolavit ex eis (tabulis) quod erat scriptum." The same legend is mentioned in the Midrash¹: the writing had flown away (*sic*) from the Tables; and he therefore broke them. In the later passage of Pseudo-Philo, to which reference has just been made, it is mentioned incidentally that the Tables of the Law were broken on the seventeenth day of the fourth month. The same date is given in the Talmud².

The story that Balaam advised Balak to attempt to corrupt the Israelites by means of the Moabitish women (compare Numbers xxxi. 16) is an old tradition, founded on Numbers xxiv. 14, and appears in Philo and in Josephus³ and in many other places⁴.

On the death of Moses, Joshua takes over, at God's command, the leadership of the Israelites. The people say:—

Ecce nos scimus hodie quae prophetaverunt Eldat et Modat in diebus Moysi dicentes: post requietionem Moysi dabitur principatus Moysi Iesu filio Naue.

With this verse should be compared the passage of the Midrash⁵ concerning the prophecies of Eldad and Medad (Numbers xi. 26):—

"These men prophesied that which would come to pass at the end of forty years . . . What did they prophesy? many say that it was the destruction of Gog: many others say that it was that Moses should die, and that Joshua should lead the Israelites into the Promised Land."

After the death of Moses and the capture of Jericho, the manna ceased, and the Israelites began to eat of the fruits of the land. This fact is mentioned in the Bible (Joshua v. 12). Pseudo-Philo adds the following remark:—

¹ *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, p. 6 a (ed. Schechter); *Shemoth Rabbah*, para. 46, on Exod. xxxiv. 1.

² *Taanith*, IV, 6. Cf. *Babli*, fol. 26 b; *Seder Olam Rabbah*, cap. 6 and 30.

³ Philo, *de Vita Moysi*, i. 54 (II, 127 M); Joseph. *Antiquit.* IV, 6. 6.

⁴ *Sanhedrin*, fol. 106 a; *Targum Jonath.* and *Jerus. on Num.* xxiv. 14; *Bemidbar Rabbah* on the same passage.

⁵ *Sifri* on בְּהַעֲלֹךְ, p. 26 a (ed. Friedmann); *Bemidbar Rabbah*, para. 15, on Num. xi. 16.

Et haec sunt tria quae dedit populo suo deus propter tres homines, id est puteum aquae myrrhae pro Mariam et columnam nubis pro Aaron et manna pro Moyse. Et finitis his tribus ablata sunt haec tria dona ab illis.

"And these are the three things which God gave to his people for the sake of three persons, to wit, the well of fresh water for the sake of Miriam, the pillar of cloud for the sake of Aaron, and the manna for the sake of Moses. And when these three died, the three gifts were taken away."

The same legend is related in an old Midrash¹ :—

"When Miriam died, the spring ceased, when Aaron died, the pillar of cloud disappeared, when Moses died, the manna no longer fell. R. Joshua said, 'When Miriam died, the spring ceased, but flowed again for the sake of Moses and Aaron; when Aaron died, the pillar of cloud disappeared, but returned for the sake of Moses; when Moses died, the manna, the pillar of cloud and the spring all disappeared and did not return.'"

According to Pseudo-Philo, the first Judge of Israel was Cenez, the son of Caleb, whereas, according to the Bible, it was Othniel, the son of Kenas. It is not possible to discover what led Pseudo-Philo to adopt this alteration; but it is noteworthy that Josephus (*Ant.*, V. 3, 3) mentions as the first judge not Othniel but *Κενίατος*.

Pseudo-Philo says that it was the giant Goliath who slew in battle the sons of the High Priest Eli, and that Saul was the messenger who carried the news to Eli. These are old traditions which are mentioned elsewhere².

It is mentioned in the Bible (1 Sam. xvii. 40) that when David went out to fight with Goliath, he took five stones and put them in his wallet. This story is embellished by Pseudo-Philo, according to whom David took seven stones and wrote thereon the names of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Aaron, his own name and the name of God. The legend told in the Midrash³ is similar :—

"The five stones which David chose, he took in the name of God,

¹ *Mechilta* on Exod. xvi. 35; *Sifri*, p. 129 a (ed. Friedmann); *Seder Olam Rabbah*, cap. 10.

² *Targum* on 1 Sam. xvii. 8; *Midrash Samuel*, para. 11, p. 39 b (ed. Buber).

³ *Midrash Samuel*, para. 21, p. 54 b (ed. Buber).

in the name of Aaron, the Priest, and in the name of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."

What David says about his relationship with Goliath (see p. 305 above) rests on the identification of the Goliath, mentioned in 2 Samuel xxi. 19, with the giant Goliath, and of his mother Harapha (2 Sam. xxi. 16-22) with Orpah, the sister-in-law of Ruth (Ruth i. 4). The same identification is found in the Midrash¹.

From these examples it is clear that Pseudo-Philo's version of Jewish history has many roots in the ancient Jewish traditions and legends on which the Hagadah and the Midrash are founded. There are, however, many features which are peculiar to the author, and have no parallel in the extant Midrashim. But the spirit in which the whole book is written is the spirit of the Rabbinic Hagadah and of the Midrash. In its elaborate illustrations of brief passages of the Bible, in its embellishment and amplification of Biblical stories, in its supply of unknown names, in its exact figures and dates, its Midrashic character everywhere appears. Its similarity to the Midrash is also shown by the complete absence of all purpose other than that of religious edification. The author has no other end than to interest and to edify the reader, and to strengthen his belief in God's providence and in the high mission of Israel by means of a vivid account of the wonderful incidents of the history of the Israelites. In all the speeches the same idea recurs again and again: God has chosen the people of Israel and has made his covenant with them for ever; if the children of Israel depart from God's ways and forget his covenant, he delivers them for a time into the hands of their enemies; but God is ever mindful of his covenant with the patriarchs; he always delivers the Israelites through leaders of his choice, and he will never entirely abandon them. The religious ideas which appear in the book also show the influence of Rabbinic Judaism

¹ *Midrash Samuel*, para. 20, p. 53 b (ed. Buber); *Midrash Ruth*, para. 2. on Ruth i. 14.

as we find it in the oldest Midrashim. This is seen in the belief in the Resurrection, in the Day of Judgment, and in the Advent of the Messiah, to all which articles of faith frequent reference is made. One passage is specially characteristic. The speech of God after the Flood ends with the following words:—

Cum autem completi fuerint anni saeculi, tunc quiescet lumen et exstinguentur tenebrae, et vivificabo mortuos, et erigam dormientes de terra, et reddet infernus debitum suum et perditio restituet paratecen suam, ut reddam unicuique secundum opera sua et secundum fructus adinventionum suarum, quousque iudicem inter animam et carnem. Et requiescet saeculum et exstinguetur mors et infernus claudet os suum, et non erit sine foetu terra nec sterilis habitantibus in se, et non coinquinabitur ullus, qui in me iustificatus est; et erit terra alia et caelum aliud habitaculum sempiternum.

“When the years of the period shall have been completed, there shall be no more light, and darkness shall be extinguished, and I shall bring the dead to life, and I shall raise up the sleeping from the earth: and Hell shall pay its debt, and destruction shall give back that which it has in charge, so that I may recompense each one according to his works, and according to the fruits of his inventions, judging between the soul and the flesh; and time shall be no more, and death shall be extinguished, and Hell shall close its mouth, and the Earth shall not be without increase, nor shall it be barren to those who dwell thereon, and no man who is justified in me shall be defiled, and there shall be a new heaven, and a new earth for an everlasting dwelling-place.”

The description of the Messianic age calls to mind at once the Jewish apocalyptic writings of the period shortly before and shortly after the destruction of the temple. The same influence is discernible in the numerous dreams and prophecies and visions which the book contains, and in the frequent appearance of angels. The interference of angels in the course of events is especially frequent in the history of the judges. In the history of Cenez, the greater part of which is the author's own invention, angels play a great part; the two angels who help him in his fight against the Amorites are even mentioned by name; one of them, whose name is corrupt (? *Ingethel*) is described as

‘ Lord of Secrets ’ (*Superpositus occultis*), the other is called *Zeruel*¹, “ Lord of Virtue ” (*qui praeerat virtuti*). In the story of the Judge Jair, who seduces the Israelites to worship Baal, the angel *Nathaniel*², “ Lord of Fire ” (*qui praeest igni*), appears and rescues the seven men who fear God. The angel who appears to Manoah and his wife is called *Phadahal*³. These peculiarities, though they are evidence of a certain affinity between the work of Pseudo-Philo and the apocalyptic writings of Jewish literature, indicate no opposition to the spirit and views of Rabbinic Judaism⁴.

Now that we have made clear what are the chief sources and literary affinities of the work under consideration, it remains for us to inquire whether anything can be learnt concerning the date of its composition. Since we have to do, not with the original text, but with a translation of a translation of the original, it is naturally difficult to determine with accuracy the period to which the unknown author belonged. But the contents and the form of the

¹ Perhaps the same name as Zuriel (Num. iii. 35).

² Probably identical with Nathaneel, Num. i. 8 and elsewhere.

³ The name is taken from Num. xxxiv. 28.

⁴ I have come across only one passage which seems to be in conflict with a generally accepted Jewish opinion. After Deborah has admonished the people in a speech which she utters shortly before her death, to walk in the ways of God and to observe his commandments, all break into tears and say to her, “ Now mother, thou diest, and art leaving thy children. But into whose care dost thou give them? Pray for us, and after thy departure let thy soul be mindful of us for ever ” (*Ecce nunc, mater, moreris et relinquens filios tuos cui commendas eos? Ora itaque pro nobis et post recessum tuum erit anima tua memor nostri in sempiternum*). Deborah answers, “ When a man is still alive, he can pray for himself and for his children; but after his death he will not be able to benefit any by his prayers, nor be mindful of any. Wherefore, place not your hope in your fathers, for they will not profit you unless you are found like unto them ” (*Adhuc vivens homo potest orare pro se et pro filiis suis, post finem autem non poterit exorare nec memor esse alicuius; propterea nolite sperare in patres vestros; non enim proderunt nisi similes inveniamini [in] eis*). According to later Jewish opinion, the prayers of the dead had great weight. Is the passage just quoted meant as a protest against this view?

book may perhaps offer some clues. Especially noteworthy, in my opinion, is the fact that no importance is attached to sacrifices and the service of the Temple. All references to sacrifice are of a purely historical nature. The strict observance of the laws concerning sacrifice and of those concerning purity is never advocated. This is not the case with the Book of Jubilees in which ceremonial observances play the most important part after chronology, and the patriarchs obey the whole Mosaic code, offer the prescribed sacrifices, and celebrate the Festivals and the Sabbath with all details of ritual. The following example illustrates the difference between Pseudo-Philo and the Book of Jubilees. After giving the text of the Fourth Commandment, Pseudo-Philo makes a small addition :—

Non facies in eo omne opus, tu et omnis operatio tua, nisi ut in ea laudes dominum in ecclesia presbyterorum et glorifices fortem in cathedra seniorum.

“Thou shalt not do on the Sabbath any manner of work, neither thou nor thy labourers, save to praise the Lord in the congregation of the elders, and to glorify the Mighty One in the seat of the ancients.”

In other words, the author demands for the celebration of the Sabbath nothing beyond complete rest from all kinds of work, attendance at the synagogue, and prayer. Compare with this passage the full and strict rules for the observance of the Sabbath which are contained in the Book of Jubilees (chap. 50). Now, it has been rightly assumed that the Book of Jubilees was written when the second temple was still standing. Pseudo-Philo makes only one incidental reference to the Temple at Jerusalem; and that is in connexion with the removal of the Tabernacle to Shiloh (compare Joshua xviii. 1). In mentioning this event, the author observes that, till the building of Solomon's temple, sacrifices were always offered at Shiloh.

Quousque enim aedificaretur domus domini Hierusalem et offerretur in novo sacrario, non prohibitus est populus offerre in eo, quia veritas et demonstratio ostendebant omnia in Silo; et quousque

poneretur per Solomonem arca in sacrario domini, erant offerentes ibi usque illam diem.

“For until the house of God was built at Jerusalem, and sacrifices were offered in the new Sanctuary, the people were not forbidden to make offerings in the Sanctuary, because truth and light (אורים ותמים) shone on all things in Shiloh. And until Solomon established the ark in the Sanctuary of the Lord, they offered in the holy place till that day.”

The second temple is nowhere expressly mentioned. But if the temple had been in existence at the time when the work was composed, it would have been extremely remarkable that so little should be said of the temple service, and of the offerings, and that the priestly laws should be deliberately omitted. The assumption that the author belonged to the Diaspora appears to me impossible. For a writer who, in the Hellenistic period, composed a book in Hebrew, can scarcely have lived anywhere but in Palestine. It might be supposed that the book originated with the Essenes. But, except for the scantiness of the references to sacrifices and ceremonial observances, the contents of the book offer no support to this view. Thus, all the indications point to the conclusion that the book was written after the destruction of the second temple. The question is decided by a passage which, while ostensibly referring to the destruction of Solomon's temple, must be understood as really relating to the second temple. God commands Moses to ascend Mount Nebo, whence he will be able to see the Holy Land (Deut. xxxii. 49). He says:—

Demonstrabo tibi locum, in quo mihi serviet (populus) annos DCCXL, et post haec tradetur in manus inimicorum suorum, et demolientur eum et circumdabunt eum alienigenae, et erit in illa die secundum diem illum, in quo contrivi tabulas testamenti quas disposui ad te in Oreb, et peccantibus illis evolavit ex eis quod erat scriptum; dies autem erat septima decima mensis quarti.

“I will show thee the place in which the people shall worship me for 740 years, and, after that time, it shall be given into the hands of enemies who shall destroy it, and strangers shall surround it, and it shall be destroyed on the same day of the year in which I obliterated the writing on the Tables of the Covenant, which I gave thee

on Horeb. And when the people sinned, there flew away from the tables that which was written thereon. And it was the seventeenth day of the fourth month."

These words are meant to signify that Jerusalem was taken on the seventeenth of Tamuz, on the same day on which the Tables of the Law were broken by Moses (see p. 320 above). The capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, however, took place on the ninth of Tamuz (Jer. lii. 6, cf. 2 Kings xxv. 3). The date just mentioned, the seventeenth of Tamuz, can relate only to the second temple, as it is expressly mentioned in the Talmud¹ that, on that date, the Tables of the Law were destroyed and Jerusalem was taken by Titus. Thus, the author betrays himself by giving as the date of the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians what is really the date of the capture of Titus².

Thus we may assume with confidence that the book was written after the destruction of the second temple. The unknown author cannot, however, have lived very long after that event. This is proved by the facts that the book was written in the Hebrew language, and that it was adopted by the Christian Church. Had the book been written long after the destruction of the temple, it would not have been translated and adopted by the Church. The Latin version which has reached us cannot have been made later than the fourth century, and was probably made still earlier. The style is exactly the same as the Latin translations of the Bible which preceded that of Jerome. These translations follow the text of the Septuagint with

¹ *Taanith*, IV, 6; cf. *Seder Olam Rabbah*, cap. 6 and 30.

² The figure DCCXL, which Pseudo-Philo gives for the period from the death of Moses to the Babylonian exile, must be corrupt. It should probably be corrected to DCCCL. The latter figure would agree with the chronology of the *Seder Olam Rabbah*. Between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's temple there elapsed 480 years (1 Kings vi. 1), and, therefore, between the death of Moses and the building of Solomon's temple, 440 years. The period between the building of the temple and its destruction was 410 years. According to *Seder Olam Rabbah*, chap. xi, the Babylonian exile began 850 years (= 17 years of Jubilee) after the entrance of the Israelites into the Holy Land.

timid fidelity, whereas Jerome, in his translation, the so-called Vulgate, follows the original Hebrew. The language of these ancient Latin translations of the Bible is a peculiarly vulgar and often incorrect Latin, commonly known as African Latin. Jerome's translation (about 400 C.E.) soon acquired great authority, and, in the course of time, completely superseded the older versions of which there has reached us nothing but extensive fragments, contained partly in old manuscripts of which the existence has only of late years been made known¹, and partly in quotations made by Augustine, and others of the older Latin Fathers². In all these fragments, though they come from various versions, we find the same method of translation and the same style, a vulgar Latin with many Graecisms, unusual expressions and incorrect forms and constructions³. The Latin translation of Pseudo-Philo corresponds so closely in respect of language with that of the old Latin translations of the Bible that it must have been composed at the same time as they⁴.

I have quoted above some examples of Greek words and expressions, all of which can be paralleled from the

¹ See especially E. Ranke, *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium*, Vindobonae, 1871; U. Robert, *Pentateuchi versio Latina antiquissima e codice Lugdunensi*, Paris, 1881; L. Ziegler, *Bruchstücke einer vorhieronimianischen Uebersetzung des Pentateuch*, München, 1883.

² On the strength of a well-known passage (*De Doctrina Christ.*, II, 22), the translation chiefly used by Augustine was formerly known as *Itala* (cf. H. Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*, Marburg and Leipzig, 1869; L. Ziegler, *Die latein. Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus*, München, 1879). Recently, however, Mr. F. C. Burkitt (*Texts and Studies*, vol. IV, no. 3) has shown that, in the passage just mentioned, Augustine had in mind Jerome's translation. This fact, however, is of no further importance to us, since Augustine certainly used for the historical books of the Bible, not Jerome's translation, but older versions.

³ Compare the writings of Rönisch and others, mentioned in preceding notes, and Fr. Kaulen, *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments* (3rd edition, Freiburg, 1893), p. 132 sq.

⁴ It is clear, on similar grounds, that the Latin translation of the Book of Jubilees dates from the same period. Cp. Rönisch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 439 sq.

fragments of old Latin translations of the Bible. But the translator of Pseudo-Philo agrees entirely with the old Latin versions of the Old Testament in his vocabulary. His use of vulgar expressions and peculiar neologisms may be illustrated by the following examples:—

abominamentum and *abominatio* (βδέλυγμα), *acceptabilis*, *adinventio*, *animositas*, *coinquinatio*, *concupiscentia*, *consummatio*, *contribulatio*, *convirginales* (συνεταίριδες), *coruscum*, *coruscatio*, *dedolatura*, *ducatio*, *esca*, *fornicatio* (πορνεία), *immensurabilis*, *improperium*, *incensum* (θυμίαμα), *inoboediens*, *insufferibilis*, *longanimitas*, *lucrificatio*, *oblatio*, *parturitio*, *pressura*, *primitivus* (πρωτότοκος), *salvatio*, *sanctificatio*, *sanctimonium* (ἁγίασμα), *turrificatio*, *unanimiter*, *vivificatio*.

abominare, *adimplere*, *adinvenire*, *appropriare*, *approxi-
mare*, *captivare*, *coangustari*, *confortare*, *constabilire*, *con-
summare*, *contribulari*, *contristari*, *contumeliare*, *decoriare*,
deglutire (καταπίνειν)¹, *dignificare*, *effigiare*, *eradicare*,
evaginare, *fornicari* (πορνεύειν), *glorificare*, *hereditare*,
humiliare (ταπεινῶν, to dishonour), *ieiunare*, *implanare*,
improperare (ὀνειδίζειν), *inhabitare*, *innubilare* (συννεφεῖν)²,
intenebriscare, *iucundare*, *iustificare*, *malignari*, *mandu-
care*, *meliorare*, *memorari* (to remember), *minorare*, *morti-
ficare*, *obaudire*, *obviare*, *præfocare*, *potentari*, *principari*,
propitiare, *rememorari* (ἀναμνησέσθαι), *salvare*, *sancti-
ficare*, *servificare*, *sterilizare*, *superabundare*, *virtutificare*.

Some expressions are employed in an unusual sense:—

adiicere and *apponere* with the infinitive (= προστίθεσθαι) instead of an adverbial expression.

¹ "Et aperuit terra os suum et deglutivit eos" (Korah and his associates). Cf. Augustin., *Locut. Deuter.*, 28, "quos aperto ore suo terra deglutivit" (Deut. xi. 6, Vulg. "absorbuit").

² Gen. ix. 14, as reproduced by Pseudo-Philo, "et erit cum innubilavero caelum nubibus." Cf. Ambros., *De Noe et Arca*, XXVII, 103, "et erit cum innubilavero nubes super terram" (Vulg. "cumque obduxero coelum nubibus").

³ Cf. Augustin., *Locut. in Gen.*, 12, "et adposuit parere fratrem eius Abel" (Gen. iv. 2). Locutio est frequens in scripturis: adposuit dicere. Ibid. 26,

considerare = to censure (ἰσκέπεσθαι).

decimatio = tithe (δεκάτη).

diffidens, diffidentia = disobedient, disobedience (ἀπειθής, ἀπειθεία).

dormire = to die (κοιμᾶσθαι), *dormientes* = the dead.

exterminare = to destroy, to exterminate (ἀφανίζειν, ἐξολεθρεύειν).

festivitas = festival (ἐορτή).

generatio = generation (γενεά).

infernus = hell (Ἰνϋ, "Αἰδης).

initiare = to begin, usual meaning = to consecrate.

iustitiae = precepts (δικῆ, δικαιώματα).

maleficus = Magician (ἐπασιδός).

orare = to pray, *oratio* = a prayer (προσευχή).

praevaricari = to transgress (παραβαίνειν)¹.

solarium = terrace (δῶμα).

stipendia = livelihood.

vivificare = not only "to bring to life," but also "to keep alive²."

Peculiar and incorrect inflections:—

Madianitum for *Madianitarum*; *flos* and *ros* sometimes used as neuter, and *finis* as feminine; *iuvenior* for *iunior*; perfect of compounds of *ire* ending in *-ivi*, e. g. *exivi*, future in *-eam -ies -iet*, *eam* (for *ibo*), *exiet*, *prodiēt*, *periet*, *rediet*; participle declined *iens, ientis, exientis, abientes*; future of verbs of second conjugation ending in *-eam*, e. g. *deleam*³,

Quod scriptum est: "et non adiciam adhuc maledicere super terram" (Gen. viii. 21), simile est superiori "et non adposuit reverti ad eum" (Gen. viii. 12).

¹ "Festina hinc, quoniam corruptus est populus et praevaricatus est vias meas quas praecepi ei" (Exod. xxxii. 8). Similarly, in the old Latin translation of the *Codex Frisingensis* (ed. L. Ziegler): "praevaricaverunt cito de via quam praeceperas eis" (Vulg. "recesserunt").

² "Feminas vivificate" (Exod. i. 22). Cf. Augustin., *Locut. in Exod.*, 3, "Et omne femininum vivificate illud" (LXX = καὶ πᾶν θῆλυ ζωογονεῖτε αὐτό).

³ "Deleam hominem et omnia quae germinata sunt in terra" (Gen. vi. 7). Cf. Augustin., *Locut. in Gen.*, 13, "... et dixit deus: deleam hominem, quem feci, a facie terrae."

videam; *absconsus* as participle of *abscondere*; *fiere* (= γίνου) as imperative of *fiō*¹; *odire* (to hate) used as a regular verb, *odiunt*, *odientes*; similarly *poenitere*, *poenituerint*; *interpretari* used as passive; *frangere* once used as intransitive, “*frangentes fregerunt nocte*.”

In with the accusative used instead of *in* with the ablative, and *vice versa*; prepositions used with adverbs, *a longe* (= μακρόθεν), *ab invicem* (= ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων), *ad invicem* (= πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς); *in obviam* (= εἰς συνάντησιν); *benedicere* and *maledicere* used with the accusative as often as with the dative; *iubere* frequently used with dative; *misereri* with dative; *nocere* with accusative (= βλάπτειν); *suadere* and *persuadere* with accusative; *memorari* and *rememorari* sometimes used with accusative; *obaudire* sometimes with accusative; frequent adoption of Greek idiom of infinitive instead of dependent sentence, e.g. “*misit exploratores explorare terram*”; frequent use, after verbs expressing perception or statement, of dependent sentences introduced by *quod*, *quia*, or *quoniam*, in place of accusative and infinitive (in consequence of literal translation of Greek ὅτι); use of *si* (= εἰ) in indirect questions, and of *ut quid* (= ἵνα τί) for “wherefore” (explained by Greek usages).

It is easy to find, in the extant fragments of the old Latin translations of the Bible, numerous examples and illustrations of all the linguistic peculiarities which have been quoted here from the work of Pseudo-Philo. We may, therefore, assume that the Latin translation of the latter book was made at latest in the fourth century of the Christian era. The old translation of Philo’s *Quaestiones in Genesin* and *De Vita Contemplativa*, fragments of which have been preserved in the same manuscripts in which the *Liber Antiquitatum biblicarum* has reached us, dates from the same period. There is some probability

¹ Cf. Augustin., *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, 37: “Et fiere dominus fratrum tuorum,” Gen. xxvii. 29 (LXX=καὶ γίνου κύριος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου).

in Cardinal Pitra's conjecture that the translations of the genuine works of Philo come from the same hand as the translation of the book that we have been considering, for they are written in the same Vulgar Latin and show many of the same peculiarities. If this conjecture is well-founded, the ascription to Philo of the *Liber Antiquitatum biblicarum* is easy to understand.

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